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ABSTRACT

To clarify the factors interacting with poverty which make families more likely to abuse and neglect their children, interviews were conducted with families indicating neglect only (n=246), neglect and abuse (n=106), and abuse only (n=28). Interviews conducted with the maltreating group were compared with a group of poverty level nonmaltreating families with at least one child 12 years old or older. Responses were recorded and analyzed for the following areas: sample description (including ethnic group, language spoken, and welfare status); housing (including food consumption, clothing, and material living index); ecological environment (including perception of neighborhood, contact with relatives, and frequency of moving); child rearing knowledge, attitudes, and practices; familial background of parent; current family composition (including number, ages, and spacing of children); parental problems and difficulties (including alcohol consumption, use of heroin, and emotional well being); parent's current self-perceptions and expectations; and child characteristics. Findings are noted to suggest the following intervention strategies: guaranteed employment; guaranteed minimal income at a substantially higher level than current levels; universal preventive health care; expanded food stamp programs; an expanded stock of adequate housing at reasonable rents; and community development programs that would provide resources to make communities safer, more supportive, and less crime-ridden. (Tables with statistical data are provided throughout the text.) (SBH)

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FINAL REPORT

Factors Relating to Levels of Child Care Among Families Receiving Public Assistance in New Jersey

VOLUME I

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lated the data on the interviewing and screening process, and wrote the sections of the Report giving a profile of northern New Jersey and the Appendix on his interviews with the interviewers. Esti Rosenbloom and Marsha Lichtenstein also helped in preparing drafts of sections of the Final Report.

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ABSTRACT

The primary objective of the Study was to examine, within an AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) recipient population, the role in child abuse and neglect of a number of factors asserted in the literature to be associated with the maltreatment of children. Our principal reason for focusing on AFDC recipient families was to begin to explore the factors, interacting with poverty, which may result in child maltreatment.

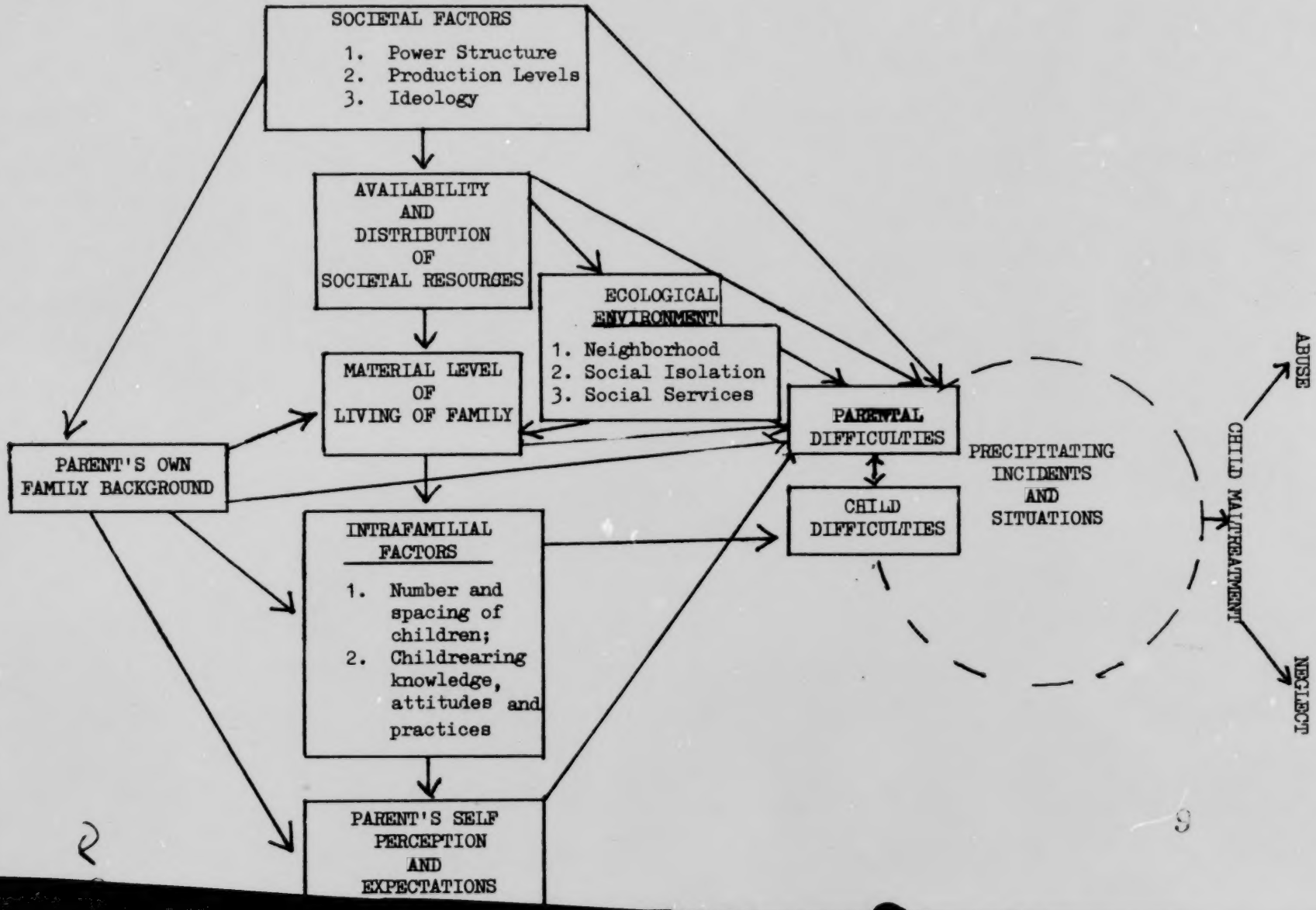
Although the overwhelming majority of poor families do not abuse or neglect their children, studies generally show poor families to be disproportionately identified in reported incidents of abuse and neglect. As part of a nationwide study of reported abuse cases, Gil (1970) found nearly half (48.4%) of them earned less than $5,000 per year per family and that nearly 60% of the families had received aid from public assistance agencies during or prior to the study year. Boehm (1964) found that the preponderance of families referred for neglect came from the lower socioeconomic strata of the community. Giovannoni and Billingsley (1970), in a comparison of neglectful with non-neglectful parents, both low-income groups, found a much higher incidence of extreme poverty among the neglectful parents.

Other studies have reported a correlated lack of material resources, such as inadequate housing, household, and personal goods among abusing families (Hancock (1963); Mussing (1958); Kahn (1963)). From their findings, and from a review of the literature, Giovannoni and Billingsley infer not "that poverty is an invariant concomitant of neglect. Rather, the implication is that poverty exposes parents to the increased likelihood of additional stresses that may have deleterious effects upon their capacities to care adequately for their children." (pp. 203-204). We share their interpretation of the available empirical data. This view represented the basic perspective for the research, although one which cannot be tested within the limited socioeconomic stratum surveyed.

Almost all reported child abuse and neglect situations come into the public agency network at one point or another. Since these public agencies consistently report that the bulk of their protective service clientele are poor (Gil, 1970), we need to know more about the factors that result in child maltreatment among the poor.

Though we are not at the point where we can specify a theory that can make "strong" predictions, we have constructed a model which makes explicit some of our assumptions and emphases. Figure I is a first crude attempt at describing the variables and their interrelationships which we believe are most salient in understanding child abuse and neglect.

Figure I. THEORETICAL MODEL OF THE SOCIETAL CONTEXT OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT



The essential element in this Model is the direct and indirect effect of how the society allocates power and income; total societal productive capacity; beliefs, attitudes and values of the social classes; and social development efforts through transfer payments and investments in public services. These societal influences impinge on the family of origin (the parents' own families) and limit the alternatives available. Present societal conditions, at times operating directly and at times through the family's community, continue to constrain the available alternatives for coping with their situation. The parents' own background, in turn, has taught them certain methods of coping which tend to be followed in the presence of similar circumstances. To the extent that there is extreme deprivation it makes it more difficult for the parents to develop their physical, emotional, intellectual and economic potential. At times, even dramatic changes in these circumstances do not instantly alter the manner of coping learned early in life. In contrast to some approaches, this Model would predict that child abuse and neglect is primarily a response to societal factors operating either directly on the family members or through the immediate community in which the family resides. Therefore, change would result primarily from changing societal and community characteristics which impinge at every point, from family of origin to the precipitating factors of the abusive or neglectful situation. If the Model is correct, attempts at intervention that would produce major improvements in the family's situtation are an extremely difficult enterprise without concomittant changes in the society. A lot of connecting arrows have been omitted in the Figure (for example, those which would indicate the mutual influence between individuals, families, their community, and society as a whole). While the arrows should go upward as well as downward, the present form of the Model emphasizes those elements of the system which are most relevant in illustrating the social context of abuse and neglect. It is not possible for us to test the Model in its entirety. The societal context is a given; we are dealing with the very bottom of the U.S. economic pyramid; and we cannot measure all the variables the Model encompasses and their interrelationships. However, the Model allows us to focus more easily on the complex relationships among the factors resulting in child abuse and neglect.

Methodology

In order to help clarify the factors interacting with poverty which make families more likely to abuse and neglect their children, the Bureau of Research, Planning and Program Development of New Jersey Division of Youth and Family

Services (D.Y.F.S.), and the Research Center of the Rutgers Graduate School of Social Work jointly undertook a study of AFDC recipient families in the ten northern counties of the State. Those factors derived from the Model and amenable to investigation served as a framework for constructing the interview schedule. The same interview schedule was administered to AFDC families who were identified as having abused or neglected their children and to families not so identified.

The group of families in which abuse and neglect was identified was drawn from a complete listing of all 1700 northern N.J. families known to DYFS for some reason related to child abuse or neglect that had at least one child born on or after 1/1/64 for whom they were receiving AFDC in April, 1976. The case records for these families were screened to see whether they met our operational definitions of child maltreatment.

Child abuse was defined as the physical assault and/or non-accidental injury of a child. Neglect was defined as the failure to provide necessities for the child which might or had resulted in damage to the physical, emotional, or intellectual development and well-being of the child. Neglect included the lack of the provision of physical necessities, supervision, and/or a severe lack of a basic level of affection and attention. The readers used a pretested manual which made explicit a number of the procedures to be used in determining whether or not a family should be included in the study. Readers had available to them a set of anchoring examples to assist them in making judgments. The operational definitions of child abuse and neglect used for the purposes of this study are not necessarily identical with legal or agency definitions, though the overlap is substantial. The researchers attempted to include only those instances where standards of child care were clearly reported **and** were substantially below that considered acceptable by the community. However, our use of the terms child abuse and neglect is not restricted to cases where child abuse or neglect was legally determined. Many of the most serious cases of child abuse and neglect are not part of this study, since frequently all children are removed in such situations. Nevertheless, the cases selected for the maltreating group clearly represent the types of child abuse or neglect known to public child welfare agencies.

Out of the 552 families screened into the study in the Maltreating Group, we were able to obtain interviews for 380 (69%). These included families indicating Neglect Only (N=246), Neglect and Abuse (N=106), and Abuse Only (N=28). A representative Comparison Group was selected by drawing a random sample of families receiving AFDC in April, 1976 with at least one child born on or after 1/1/64 who resided in the same northern counties of the State as the abusing and neglecting

families and who were not identified in DYFS records as maltreating their children (N=191). We were able to complete interviews with 144 (75%) of these families. The interviewers were not informed of the purposes of the Study, nor were they told anything about the families beside the fact that they were receiving public assistance. Interviews were conducted only after receiving the voluntary signed consent of the respondents. Each respondent was paid twenty dollars for her time and trouble.

The findings reported in the following section of the abstract come from the analysis of the interview data. The text reports differences between the groups only for those findings which are statistically significant at a probability level of .05 or less. The statistical procedure performed was chi-square, unless otherwise indicated.

Major Results

Description of Sample

Almost all the respondents were women, with an average age of 32. The majority were Black, with three out of ten white and 10% Hispanic. About seven out of ten respondents had not finished high school, with the Comparison Group families having significantly more years of schooling. These families averaged between 3 and 4 children per family (3.6), with the Maltreating Group families being significantly larger and more closely spaced. Most parents had worked at low prestige jobs; only 11% had made $140.00 or more per week on their last job.

Living Conditions

About two out of three families lived in homes with more than one person per room.

Maltreating Group families lived in more crowded homes.

Interviewers were asked to rate the state of repair of the room in which the interview took place. For more than one out of four families the room was in poor repair.

The Maltreating Group families were more likely to live in rooms that were in poor repair.

About a third of the families had seen rats in their home, fourteen percent had been without heat for most of the last winter.

Slightly more than one out of ten respondents said someone in the family had gone hungry for a day or more during the past month because there wasn't enough food in the house, with hunger more frequently occuring toward the end of the month before the arrival of the next month's check.

Maltreating families were more likely to have gone hungry.

For almost two out of three families, the welfare check runs out within the first two weeks of the month. Almost half the families are in debt, with a little less than half owing $500 or more.

Nearly one in five families reported having been evicted from their home at some time, with the Maltreating Group families more likely to have been evicted.

A substantial proportion of all the respondents had negative perceptions of the neighborhood in which they lived. About two out of five felt that it is dangerous at night, that the houses are run down, that there are a lot of drugs used, and that people don't help each other out when there's trouble.

Of the respondents who felt most negatively about their neighborhood, proportionately more were in the Maltreating Group.

Social Services

An Index measuring the number of services used showed that Maltreating Group families received more services than Comparison Group families. This is probably primarily due to their greater involvement with a variety of social agencies as a consequence of being under DYFS supervision.

The four services most frequently mentioned as helpful were the Free Breakfast/Lunch Programs at school, Health Care at hospitals or clinics, Day Care, and Legal Aid.

Child Rearing Knowledge, Attitudes and Practices

In general, the findings on attitudes toward discipline were inconsistent. In response to certain items, the Maltreatment Group was more likely to favor harsher disciplinary techniques. However, this was not always true. Sometimes the groups did not differ, and sometimes the Comparison Group reported agreement with harsher forms of discipline than the Maltreating Group. Both groups showed an adequate knowledge of child rearing, at least as measured by the questions we asked. For both groups, (1) the ages at which they expected children to achieve certain developmental skills fell within the range of norms established by Gesell; (2) they reported approximately the same number of problems in raising their children; and (3) they participated in activities with their children to about the same extent. However, the Maltreating Group seemed to be slightly less likely to enjoy raising their children, had a slight tendency to enjoy them less, and evaluated them more negatively.

Social Isolation

The sample as a whole seemed to have a high rate of social isolation. Almost one in four had no contact over the two weeks prior to the interview with relatives outside those in the household. Almost one in five saw no friends during

the same period. A fourth of the respondents got out of the house never, or once or twice, in the week preceding the interview.

Overall, on a composite measure, the Maltreatment Group families were even more socially isolated than Comparison Group families.

Parent's Own Background

A substantial proportion of the respondents reported having grown up under adverse circumstances. About one in five grew up in a home where they went hungry a good number of times, didn't have decent clothes to wear, and were on welfare at least some of the time while they were growing up.

Almost half were not raised by both their natural parents; almost one in five spent six months or more out of the home they were raised in while they were growing up. About three out of ten respondents were beaten hard as young children; more than three out of ten felt they didn't have happy childhoods. About a fourth felt neglected as children; a fourth grew up in a home in which there was a heavy drinker.

The maltreating respondents were less likely to have been raised by both parents, more likely to indicate they didn't have decent clothes to wear, and were more likely to feel they had been neglected as children. Proportionately more of the Maltreating Group respondents reported having been beaten as young children.

All of the background variables, when combined into an overall measure of respondent's upbringing, showed that parents in the Maltreating Group grew up under more difficult conditions than parents in the Comparison Group.

Child Difficulties

In the area of schooling seven percent of the families had children who were 2 or more years behind the grade appropriate for their age; nearly one out of five children were reported by their parents to be doing poorly in school and close to a fourth of the families had at least one child who missed a month or more of school.

The maltreated children were no more likely to be behind in school, though they were more apt to be reported as doing poorly in school.

In the area of health, the most frequently reported illness for children was asthma (8%), followed by anemia (5%), heart condition (3%), hypertension (2%) and sickle cell anemia (1%). No more than one percent were reported to have any developmental disability or condition.

The rates of illness and developmental disabilities were essentially the same for both groups.

On behavioral difficulties the most frequently reported "especially serious" problem was not obeying (for more than one fourth of the children), followed by fighting or hitting people (for nearly one out of four children). Other especially serious problems reported for roughly ten percent of the children were crying a lot, difficulties in getting a child to sleep, toilet training, and eating.

On behavioral difficulties as well as on total number of child difficulties, Maltreating families showed similar patterns to those of Comparison families.

Parental Difficulties

One-third of all respondents reported they never drink, slightly more than one out of ten reported that someone in or close to their household drinks too much, and more than one out of ten that someone living in their family had used heroin at some time.

While both groups were essentially similar on alcohol use, the Maltreating group was more likely to have reported that someone in the household had used heroin at some time.

Responses to a set of items measuring emotional well-being were inconsistent; substantial proportions of the total sample answered items which indicated both positive and negative feeling states. For example, six out of ten respondents indicated that in the few weeks prior to the interview they had often or sometimes felt depressed or very unhappy, more than half felt all alone in the world, nearly two-thirds had felt bored, and about half lonely or remote from other people. However, a majority of respondents also reported that they were pleased about having accomplished something, pleased that things were going their way, and that people seemed to respect their opinion.

Overall, when the items were combined into a total score, Maltreating parents showed greater current emotional stress than Comparison parents.

Parent's Current Self-Perception

The Maltreating families and Comparison families revealed essentially similar patterns of alienation. Both groups of families showed a high level of alienation as measured by one of Srole's modifications of his original Anomie Scale.

In their expectations for themselves and their children, Maltreating and Comparison Groups differed on work expectations for themselves but showed similar patterns with respect to educational expectations for their children. The bulk of parents in the study indicated that they would be working in five years but there were significantly more Comparison than Maltreating parents who indicated this. Of those who

expected to be working, nearly half of both groups thought they would be working in such occupations as secretary, nurse, or laboratory technician; the remainder (more than half) mentioned lower level jobs.

Slightly more than half of all parents expected one or more of their children to go to college.

The Four Group Analyses

The most striking finding to come out of the analyses of the three Maltreating subgroups and the Comparison group was that 28 Abuse Only respondents differed substantially from the other Maltreating respondents in many areas. By and large, they tended to be in better circumstances than the Neglect Only, or the Neglect and Abuse respondents, and exhibited characteristics, and behavioral and attitudinal patterns, which were more like those of the Comparison Group. In two major areas the Abuse Only respondents did seem to differ from the Comparison Group respondents: they experienced greater difficulties when they were growing up, and were more socially isolated. Further analysis of the interview and other data for the Abuse Only respondents will attempt to uncover the reasons for these results.

The other two Maltreating groups (Neglect Only and Neglect and Abuse) showed patterns quite similar to one another. Both differed from the Comparison Group in many of the same areas which had been found to differentiate the Maltreating Group as a whole from the Comparison Group.

Multivariate Analysis

Using a statistical procedure called Discriminant Analysis we were able to look at the combined effect of a number of factors found to be associated with child maltreatment and to assess the relative strength of each in discriminating between the Maltreating and Comparison groups. Number of Children emerged as the most important variable, followed, in order, by Quality of Respondents' Childhood, Material Level of Living, and Social Isolation. These variables in combination showed a modest ability to discriminate between the two groups.

Further Analyses

This report will be further expanded and strengthened when the analysis of the information collected from the case record review is completed. In addition, other statistical procedures will be employed to explore various questions which were left unanswered by the original analysis.

Limitations of the Findings

1. These findings are limited in their generalizability to AFDC recipient families with at least one child in the home 11 years old or younger; thus, we did not concentrate on child maltreatment to older children.

2. The types of abuse and neglect we are investigating are limited to those reported to public child welfare agencies which did not result in removal of the children. This type of selection may possibly result in the most severe situations of abuse and neglect being absent from the sample.

3. There is a possible bias resulting from difficulties in locating all families in the sample. The overall interview completion rate was 71%. It will require further analysis to determine whether or not this has produced a bias in our sample and limited the population to which our findings may be generalized.

4. Further analyses currently underway may clarify a number of the findings.

Discussion

Our results show a consistent and significant pattern: a world of great poverty for AFDC recipients, one in which these people and the communities in which they live are without many of the things most Americans regard as essential parts of their standard of living.

The parents identified as having maltreated their children report living at an even lower material level of living, have more children, are more socially isolated, live in more run-down neighborhoods, and were themselves more deprived as children, than other AFDC recipients. In fact, these parents and their children are the poorest of the poor.

Policy and Program Implications

Despite certain methodological limitations of the study and the work which remains to be done, policy and program implications emerge which are consistent with our findings and review of the literature.

The most direct and effective intervention to reduce the likelihood of child maltreatment among this important segment of the identified child abuse and neglect families would be to provide:

a. guaranteed employment
b. a guaranteed minimum income at a substantially higher level than current AFDC payments
c. universal preventive health care
d. expanded food stamp programs
e. an expanded stock of adequate housing at reasonable rents
f. community development programs that would provide resources to the community to make them safer, more supportive, less crime-ridden, and more autonomous.

Our data indicate that the childhood experiences of these parents are important elements in helping determine the quality of care they provide to their children. Unfortunately, we cannot go back in time to erase the social, economic and familial deprivation experienced by the parents of the abused and neglected children while they themselves were growing up. What we can do, however, is to develop public policies and programs that stop the cycle of deprivation by helping the current generation of children and their families to survive in present difficult circumstances.

Size of family, material level of living, quality of neighborhood, and social isolation also emerge as critical factors making families susceptible to the possibility of maltreating their children. The prominence of these factors indicates that direct and major intervention in the areas listed above is vital in order to reduce child abuse and neglect. However, whatever occurs at the broader policy level in our society, there are immediate, relatively small scale programmatic initiatives that can be taken. Therefore, we recommend that a substantially increased level of funding for child abuse and neglect prevention and service programs for poor families be targeted into the following concrete service areas:

a. comprehensive emergency services, including special emergency cash funds, special emergency food outlets, and good quality emergency temporary housing
b. special day care programs
c. special homemaker services and case aides
d. job development and training programs
e. housing resource development services
f. transportation services
g. ready and free access to birth control information and methods, including abortion.

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DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

August 11, 1977

Our Reference: 90-C-425

Richard Gelles
Andrea Carr
Department of Sociology
University of Rhode Island
Kingston, Rhode Island 02881

Dear Andrea:

We are very pleased to hear that the various difficulties with Florida have been ironed out and that you have their cooperation to proceed with the study of their records.

The procedures for paying their personnel for the costs of drawing the sample, making xerox copies and maintaining their confidentiality, etc., can of course be handled in accordance with the regular procedures of your Research and Grant Accounting Office. You are hereby authorized to use approximately $2,000 of the amount currently in your budget to meet these expenses, by contracting with (or paying vouchers to) the State of Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services.

Sincerely,

Cecelia E. Sudia
Research Associate

INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of the Study was to examine, within an AFDC (Aid to Families of Dependent Children) recipient population, the role in child abuse and neglect of a number of factors asserted in the literature to be associated with the maltreatment of children.

Our principal reason for focusing on AFDC recipient families was to begin to explore the factors, interacting with poverty, which may result in child maltreatment.

Although the overwhelming majority of poor families do not abuse and neglect their children, studies generally show poor families to be disproportionately identified in reported incidents of abuse and neglect. As part of a nationwide study of reported abuse cases Gil (1970) found nearly half (48.4%) of his abusing population earned less than $5,000 per year per family and that nearly 60% of the families had received aid from public assistance agencies during or prior to the study year. Boehm (1964) found that the preponderance of families referred for neglect came from the lower socioeconomic strata of the community. Giovannoni (1970), in a comparison of neglectful with non-neglectful parents, both low-income groups, found a much higher incidence of extreme poverty among the neglectful parents.

Other studies have reported a correlated lack of material resources, such as inadequate housing, household, and personal

goods among abusing families (Hancock (1963); Mussing (1958); Kahn (1963)). From her findings, and from a review of the literature, Giovannoni infers "not that poverty is an invariant concomitant of neglect. Rather, the implication is that poverty exposes parents to the increased likelihood of additional stresses that may have deleterious effects upon their capacities to care adequately for their children." (pp. 203-204).

We share Giovannoni's interpretation of the available empirical data. This perspective represented the basic framework for the research, although one which cannot be tested with the findings of this particular Study.

Furthermore, almost all reported child abuse and neglect situations come into the public agency network at one point or another. These public agencies consistently report that the bulk of their protective service clientele are poor. (Gil, 1970). Whatever the true incidence of child abuse and neglect in the US population, the public child welfare agency needs to know more about the factors that result in child maltreatment among the poor.

Building upon the numerous assertions that have been made in the literature about factors associated with child abuse and neglect we selected certain themes and issues to examine within an AFDC recipient population.

1. Description of Sample.

In addition to describing the overall sample characteristics, we explored the possibility that certain factors such

as age, education, ethnicity, and area of residence may be associated with child maltreatment.

2. Living on Welfare.

Even within a welfare population, differences exist in quality of housing, household items available, consumption levels for food and clothing, short-term economic difficulties and the handling of the extremely limited available financial resources. We expected to find that the families who maltreat their children would be more likely to experience even greater difficulties in these areas than other AFDC recipient families.

3. Ecological Environment.

The resources of the larger community may also have a major impact upon the ability of the family to cope at a subsistence income level. The quality of the neighborhood (the extent of neighborliness, safety and socioeconomic characteristics), the resources provided by the community, and the degree of communication with family and friends, can either accelerate or help counteract difficulties in child rearing. To the extent that the ecological environment is harmful we predicted a greater likelihood of child maltreatment; to the extent that it is supportive a decreased likelihood of child maltreatment.

4. Childrearing Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices.

Childrearing knowledge, attitudes and practices are frequently mentioned as factors related to the quality of child care. It is expected that families who favor harsher

discipline, are unrealistic about what can be expected of children at particular ages, who derive little satisfaction from child care, who participate in activities with their children less frequently, and who encounter more serious difficulties in such areas as toilet training and feeding children are more likely to maltreat their children.

5. Familial Background of Parent.

A dominant theme in the literature is that parents who were maltreated as children are more likely to maltreat their own children. In line with this, we attempted to learn whether the maltreating parents were more likely to have been abused or neglected as children. We also investigated whether they were more likely to have been materially deprived as children, or to have come from one-parent homes.

6. Current Family Composition.

Parents with many children and those with children who are closely spaced are likely to find child rearing a greater burden. It is expected that these parents will be more vulnerable to maltreating their children.

7. Parental Problems and Difficulties.

It is expected that parental problems such as abuse of alcohol and heroin, mental and physical illness, and experiencing physical abuse as an adult, when they occur in a context of material deprivation, will substantially increase the likelihood of child maltreatment.

8. Parent's Current Self-Perceptions and Expectations.

It is expected that quality of child care is associated

with attitudes toward the larger societal environment. The maltreating group may feel more alienated, and may also have lower expectations for themselves and for their children. Thus, we anticipate that parents who maltreat their children will show greater anomie, have lower job and educational expectations for themselves and their children.

9. Child Characteristics.

In some cases child characteristics are seen as precipitating factors resulting in maltreatment, particularly in cases of child abuse. Child characteristics can also be viewed as consequences of prior child maltreatment. Whatever the causal sequence, it is expected that problematic child characteristics will be more frequently reported among children from families in which maltreatment occurs. Thus we expect that the illness rate among maltreated children will be higher, they will be more likely to have difficulties in school, and show other behavioral difficulties.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The study compared data from identical interviews with two groups of AFDC recipient families. In the first, the maltreating group, abuse or neglect has been identified from official public child welfare reports; in the second, the comparison group, there is no reported abuse or neglect.

Sampling Procedure

Selection of maltreating group. The group of families in which abuse and neglect was identified was drawn from a complete listing of all 1700 families from the ten Northern New Jersey counties of Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Hunterdon, Morris, Passaic, Somerset, Sussex, Union, and Warren that had at least one child born on or after 1/1/64 for whom they were receiving AFDC in April 1976. At least one child of these 1700 families was under the Supervision of the New Jersey Division of Youth and Family Services under the Protective Service Program. We attempted to screen all 1700 DYFS records to select those families that met the criterion of having at least one identified abused or neglected child at home born on or after 1/1/64. Out of the 1700 families we were able to screen 1504 or 88% of the total cases. We were unable to screen 196 records because of lack of adequate information in the record or because the record could not be located. Each case was independently reviewed by at least two specially trained readers. In instances of disagreement a third reader reviewed the case to determine whether it met the study criteria. Five hundred and fifty-two

families were selected (37% of the total of 1504 screenable cases) and 952 (63% of the total screenable cases) were not selected for such reasons as lack of documentation and divergence from operational definitions of this study. (Appendix A contains complete data by county for the screening process).

Criteria for inclusion. In order to be included in the maltreating group there had to be at least one substantiated report of child abuse or neglect since July 1, 1974. Child abuse was defined as the physical assault and/or non-accidental injury of a child. Neglect was defined as the failure to provide necessities for the child which might or had resulted in damage to the physical, emotional, or intellectual development and well-being of the child. Neglect included the lack of the provision of physical necessities, supervision, and/or a severe lack of a basic level of affection and attention.

The case reader's judgments were based on extensive training in the study definitions of minimally acceptable standards of child care. The readers used a pretested manual which made explicit a number of the procedures to be used in determining whether or not a family should be included in the study. Readers had available to them a set of anchoring examples to assist them in making judgments. The manual, anchoring examples and screening instrument are in Appendix B . The operational definitions of child abuse and neglect used for the purposes of this study are not

necessarily identical with legal or agency definitions, though the overlap is substantial. The researchers attempted to include only those instances where standards of child care were clearly reported which were substantially below that considered acceptable by the community. However, our use of the terms child abuse and neglect is not restricted to cases where child abuse or neglect was legally determined. Many of the most serious cases of child abuse and neglect are not part of this study, since frequently all children are removed in such situations. Nevertheless, as can be seen from the anchoring examples in Appendix B , the families selected for the maltreating group clearly indicate that the types of child abuse or neglect known to public child welfare agencies are those found in our sample.

Selection of the comparison group. The comparison group was constituted by drawing a random sample of 195 cases from a complete listing of families receiving AFDC in April 1976 with at least one child born on or after 1/1/64 who resided in the same ten Northern New Jersey counties from which the maltreating group was selected. Of the 195 families, four were also on the list of 1700 DYFS cases and were ultimately screened into the maltreating sample, leaving 191 families in the comparison group.

The drawing of both groups was carried out in a number of stages which are depicted graphically in Appendix C .

Data Collection

Interview schedule. The primary data collection instrument was a structured interview schedule which included a set of items to be completed by the interviewer about the interview situation and certain characteristics of the respondent. The interview was translated into Spanish for Spanish-speaking respondents who were not fluent in English. (Copies of both the English and Spanish versions are in Appendix H).

Interviewer training. Most of the interviewers had substantial prior experience. They participated in two extended training sessions before the start of the interviewing. The training sessions not only covered the technical aspects of the interviewing but also emphasized the voluntary nature of the study and the importance of protecting the confidentiality of the interview.

Interviewing. Respondents were sent a letter asking their permission to be interviewed and offering them $20 for their time and trouble. The letter enclosed a form as well as a stamped envelope addressed to the Project so that the respondent could indicate whether or not she wanted to be interviewed. Those who indicated that they did not wish to be interviewed were not contacted any further. No interview was begun without first obtaining the written permission of the respondent. (Copies of the letters and consent form are in Appendix H). Interviewing began mid June 1976 and was completed by the end of March 1977.

Case record review*. Included also was an instrument designed to collect descriptive data from the DYFS case records for the families in which child abuse and neglect had been identified. Information was obtained about the characteristics of the family, the abuse and neglect situations, the nature of the intervention, and changes in the family situation in order to:

1. learn more about the types and severity of abuse and neglect.
2. examine the sequence of the immediately preceding events which seemed to precipitate child abuse and neglect.
3. explore the consequences of the child maltreatment on the family's structure and stability.
4. learn more about the types of intervention attempted by DYFS and other agencies in cases of child maltreatment.
5. explore the consequences of DYFS intervention.

Since some of the data in the case record overlapped with the interview, the case record review instrument serves as one form of reliability estimate for some of the information obtained in the interview.

We attempted to review case records of all families screened into the maltreating group who were interviewed. In addition we reviewed the case records of non-interviewed families. We attempted to obtain a representative sample of these families and were able to achieve this in

---

*Data from the case record review instruments has been coded and keypunched but not yet analyzed. A copy of the Instrument is in Appendix G.

most DYFS district offices. We reviewed the case records of all but 10 of the 380 in the maltreating group who were interviewed (97%) and 109 of the 172 who were not interviewed (63%).

The comparison of the characteristics of the interviewed and non-interviewed maltreating families should provide some information on whether the families we interviewed are representative of the total maltreating group.

Completion rate for interviews. As shown below, the overall completion rate is 71%, 69% for the maltreating group and 75% for the comparison group. The percentage of families who refused was 11% for the total sample, 11% for the maltreating and 12% for the comparison groups. The percentage of families who could not be located was 15% for the total sample, 16% for the maltreating group and 13% for the comparison group. In addition, 4% of the maltreating group (representing 3% of the total sample) had to be dropped from the study. (Tables showing completion rates by county are presented in Appendix A).

	Comparison Group	Maltreating Group	Total Sample
Interviewed	144 (75%)	380 (69%)	524 (71%)
Dropped*		21 (4%)	21 (3%)
Refusals	23 (12%)	62 (11%)	85 (11%)
Unlocated	24 (13%)	89 (16%)	113 (15%)
Not Interviewed	47	172	219
Total	191	552	743

* Cases were dropped for the following reasons: severe illness of respondents (3), respondent moved out of state (6), all children placed (5), and at request of agency (7).

PROFILE OF TEN NORTHERN COUNTIES

This section describes the ten counties of northern New Jersey included in the study in terms of their general demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. It is intended to provide an overview of the region as a whole, as well as to specify contrasts on a county by county basis.

Urbanization.

In 1970, the population of New Jersey surpassed the seven million mark. Eighty one percent of this growth was due to natural increase, but 10.1% was the result of migration into the state (500,000 persons since 1960). From 1950 to 1960 migration within the state resulted in a decrease of the population of rural regions, accompanied by growth in suburban areas. But between 1960 and 1970 this trend was reversed; the population in places under 25,000 increased significantly resulting in a net decrease in the proportion of persons living in urban centers.

Northern New Jersey contains two large central cities, Newark (pop. 382,000) and Jersey City, located in Essex and Hudson Counties respectively. Both these cities are characterized by population declines, or at most minimal growth amounting to less than half of their natural increase. Developable land is scarce. Both have serious fiscal problems related to growing low income minority populations. In 1970 the Black population of Newark totaled 56% and in Jersey City

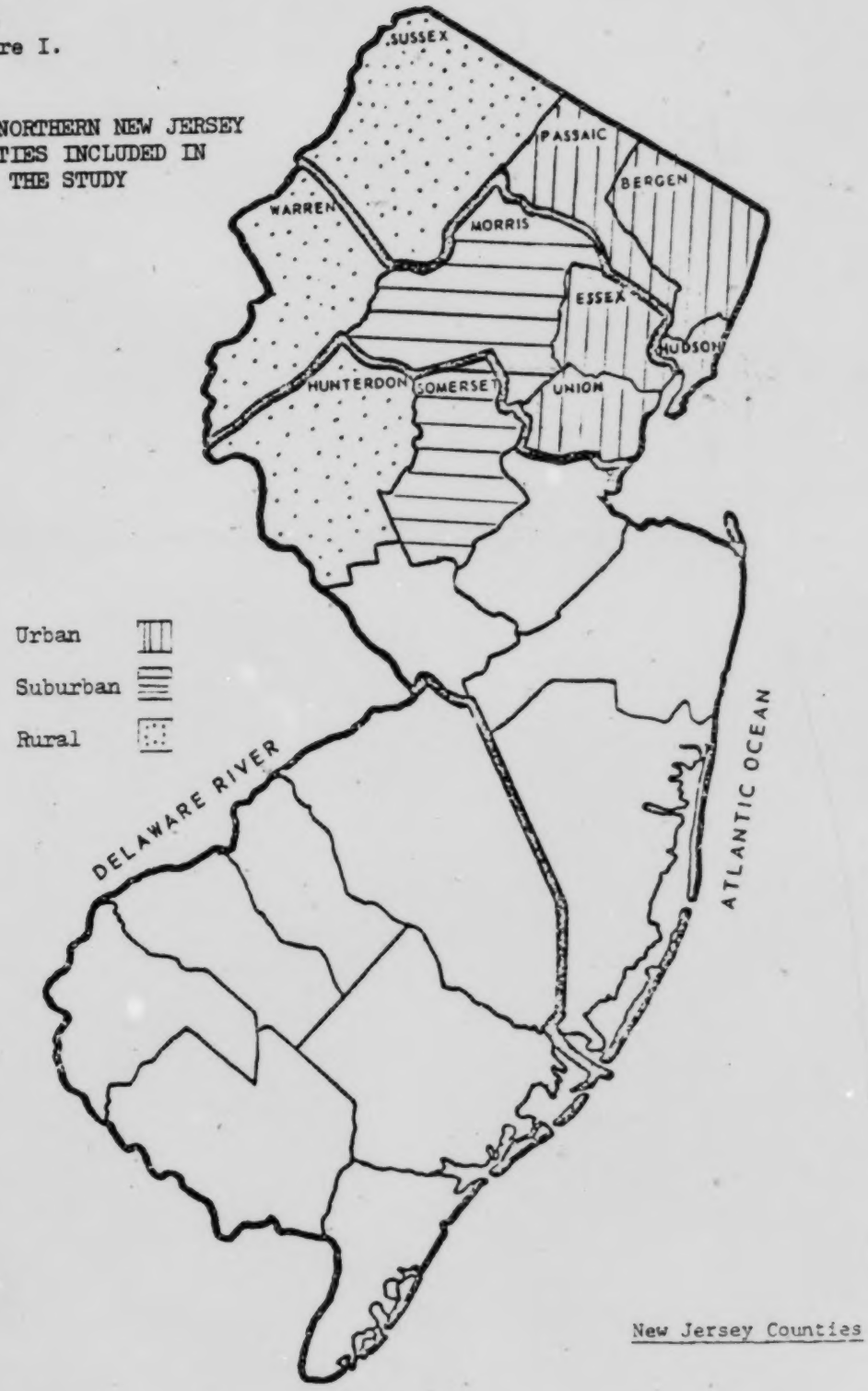
22%. Recent expansions in the Black population are largely internal, caused more by natural increase than by in-migration. At the same time upper and middle income neighborhoods are losing population. This population shift from urban and exurban areas has been accompanied by an increase in the incidence of commuting and also in the distance commuters travel. The real property tax base and the revenues of the central cities have also declined.

For purposes of our analyses it is useful to classify the ten northern New Jersey Counties into three groups- urban, suburban and rural - although shifting population patterns have made these categories less precise than they once were. See Figure I.

Almost two thirds of the state's total population lies within the domain of these northern counties. Essex alone has nearly one million inhabitants, including the City of Newark, whose 1700 acre core area is home to approximately 62,000 people. At the other extreme of the urban rural continuum is Hunterdon, a rural county to the northwest, whose entire population is only slightly greater than Newark's inner city. The urban counties show a wide range of population density, but a narrow range of growth. Suburban counties exhibit faster growth rates - rural counties vary.

Figure I.

TEN NORTHERN NEW JERSEY COUNTIES INCLUDED IN THE STUDY



New Jersey Counties

Table A

	% Urban	Number of people per square mile
Bergen	100	3834
Essex	100	7173
Hudson	100	12933
Hunterdon	16	165
Morris	82	819
Passaic	96	2400
Somerset	76	646
Sussex	39	147
Union	100	5273
Warren	58	204

Income

Median income in New Jersey grew steadily from $2389 in 1950 to $11,020 in 1970 (for both families and unrelated individuals). Accounting for inflationary influences, the increase ranges from $2850 in 1950 to $8224 in 1970, equivalent to an annual average rate of change of 9.4% per year.

Although rising aggregate income is a plausable measure of growth, the manner in which it is distributed is more relevant to an understanding of the socioeconomic order. The cumulative distribution of income for all persons is shown in Table B.

Table B

Comparative Cumulative Income Distribution
Families and Unrelated Individuals
U.S./N.J. - 1950-1970
(Percent with Incomes Less than (Y))

(Y) Income ($1,000's)	1949		1959		1969	
	U.S.	N.J.	U.S.	N.J.	U.S.	N.J.
1	22.3	15.0	12.8	8.6	7.7	5.3
3	56.6	43.5	32.5	21.8	22.6	15.6
5	83.6	75.6	52.2	39.0	34.1	24.8
7	93.4	89.8	71.8	60.8	45.8	34.7
10	97.4	96.1	88.0	81.9	63.4	51.9
15	NA	NA	NA	NA	84.3	76.6
25	NA	NA	NA	NA	96.4	94.4

The statistics indicate that New Jersey is a State with proportionately more people in the higher income range, and fewer in the lower income range, than the nation as a whole. The distribution of income has shifted as personal incomes continue to rise. However, these figures are somewhat misleading. For instance, the decrease by 6% between 1959-69 in the proportion of people and unrelated individuals earning less than $3000 is really only about 2% if measured in 1959 dollars. Also, between 1959 - 1969 a shift took place toward a more unequal distribution of income. Nagle (1974:32) suggests that the State's increase in white collar occupations, non-white population and a decline in total manufacturing offset increases in median income and the general

level of education, thus accounting for the even greater differences among income groups now than in 1960.

Table C shows the 1970 breakdown of median income and education by county.

Table C

	Median Family Income	Median Years of Education
Bergen	$13,591	12.3
Essex	10,682	10.7
Hudson	9,695	10.2
Hunterdon	11,336	12.2
Morris	13,420	12.5
Passaic	10,917	11.1
Somerset	13,432	12.4
Sussex	10,785	12.2
Union	12,590	12.2
Warren	10,117	11.8

Urban counties in 1950 and 1960 had the highest absolute median income, but by 1970 the urban exodus had taken its toll and residents of surburban counties earned the highest median income. In that year, the average median income for the two northern suburban counties (Morris and Somerset) was $13,426, and $11,495 for the five urban counties (Bergen, Essex, Hudson, Passaic, Union). A similar relation holds for median levels of education - 12.5 years for surburban and 11.3 for urban counties.

However, the distribution of wealth is even more highly skewed than the consideration of income and levels of education alone would indicate (Nagle, 1974:34).

Poverty

Although New Jersey ranks high on the national income scale, poverty is still very real in the Garden State - whatever method is used to measure it. Employing the standard

Figure II.

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, NORTHERN NEW JERSEY, 1970

New Jersey Counties

poverty income measure of the 1970 census we find that 6.4% of families in New Jersey fall below the poverty line (see Figure II for the distribution by county of poor families).

But if we use the Bureau of Labor Statistics' definition of a "lower" budget standard of living* we get quite a different picture of economic welfare in the state. In 1970, 22% of all families earned incomes below the BLS national standard ($7,061). In the central cities, the rate rises to 37.4% of all families. Forty six percent of nonwhite families fall below this line.

The demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the poverty sector point to a special subgroup of the New Jersey population. From Table D, the correlation between race/ethnicity and poverty status is clear. In every county the two minority groups profiled in the 1970 census show proportionately greater rates of poverty. Urban Whites average 5.4%, rural Whites 5.0% and surburban 3.0%; in contrast to rates of 16.4% for urban Blacks, 8.0% for rural Blacks and 12.5% for Blacks in surburban counties. Nearly a third of Puerto Ricans in Essex county are below the poverty income level - it also contains the greatest proportion of both Black and White poor families.

---

* The B.L.S. "lower" budget is defined in terms of income plus an item by item enumeration of consumption needs.

Table D

Racial/Ethnic Distribution of Families
Poverty Rate Measured by Income (1970 Census)

	All Families			Families by Ethnic/ Racial Grouping, % Below Poverty Level			Ethnic Distribution Of Families Below Poverty Level			Welfare Expenditures Per Inhabitant 1974*
	% Black	% Puerto Rican	% White	% Black	% Puerto Rican	% White	% Black	% Puerto Rican	% White	
Bergen	3	.3	96	7	9	3	6	1	93	$12
Essex	27	3	70	21	31	11	57	9	33	129
Hudson	9	5	86	20	26	7	19	14	67	76
Hunterdon	1	-	99	9	-	4	1	-	99	14
Morris	2	.6	97	12	6	3	8	1	91	10
Passaic	9	2	89	21	23	3	28	13	58	68
Somerset	3	.3	96	13	13	3	11	1	88	18
Sussex	-	-	100	-	-	6	-	-	100	26
Union	10	1	89	13	14	3	29	3	68	28
Warren	1	-	99	7	-	5	1	-	99	19

* New Jersey Mental Health Planning Committee, 1976 VII, p. 115

Although 22% of all persons are over 65 years of age, a more 1.8% are listed with poverty incomes. However, related children below 18 years of age comprise 34% of the poverty population. Significantly, of the families which fall below the poverty level female headed families are disproportionately represented (See Table E).

Since the study population consists of single parent families, predominantly female headed, their distribution by county is especially pertinent. The highest concentration is in the five urban counties (12.6% of all families), followed by the three rural (7.6%) and the two suburban counties (6.5%). Female headed families whose income falls below the poverty line are similarly distributed: urban (22.2%), rural (18.3%); and suburban (14.5%). However, if we take the population of all poverty income families, and consider only those with female heads, the distribution is somewhat different: urban (42.8%; suburban (36.0%); and rural (27.0%).

It may be that more female headed suburban families result from divorce or separation. The number of families in these circumstances, added to the number of unwed mothers with dependent children, may partially account for the higher rate in suburban counties of female headed families with poverty incomes. Then again, the smaller number of Black families living in rural areas of northern New Jersey may partially explain the distribution of poor, female headed families, especially in light of the fact that more suburban, Black families with female heads are poor

Table E - Female Headed Families (1970 Census)

	% of all families with female heads	of families with female heads, % below poverty line	of families below poverty line, % female headed
Bergen	8	13	35
Essex	18	31	54
Hudson	15	24	41
Hunterdon	7	16	26
Morris	6	14	38
Passaic	12	26	45
Somerset	7	15	34
Sussex	7	22	26
Union	10	13	39
Warren	9	17	29

(59.5%) than rural, Black, female headed families (40%).

Table F describes the distribution of families with female heads by race and poverty status. The overwhelming number of female headed families is White, reflecting, of course, the preponderance of Whites in the general population. Essex, however, is a striking exception to this trend. Although only 27% of all families in Essex are Black (Table D) 52% of all female headed families are Black, and 70% of poor, female headed families. In urban areas Black families, on the average, constitute 11.6% of all families; yet, Black, female headed families make up 20.6% of this population.

Over 39% of all poor, female headed families in the cities are Black - the rate is cut in half (17%) for the suburbs. From census data above, the trend is clear - Black and Puerto Rican women with dependent children are far more apt to have poverty level incomes than are White women with dependent children.

Housing.

The State of New Jersey, Division of State and Regional Planning (1976) has estimated the state's current housing needs by categorizing housing units into three groups: (1)"dilapidated units" - having defects so critical that the structure should be either extensively renovated or torn down; (2) "overcrowded units" - not large enough to accommodate occupants adequately, the standard

Table F

Families with Female Heads, By Race and Poverty Status

	of Female Headed Families			Of Female Headed Families Below Poverty Level		
	% Black	% Puerto Rican	White	% Black	% Puerto Rican	White
Bergen	6	.3	93	12	1	87
Essex	52	4	44	70	8	12
Hudson	17	7	76	27	16	57
Hunterdon	4	-	96	3	-	97
Morris	6	.7	93	17	-	83
Passaic	25	6	69	45	14	41
Somerset	8	.2	92	17	-	83
Sussex	-	--	99	-	-	99
Union	23	1	76	45	3	52
Warren	1	-	99	1	-	99

being more than one occupant per room; and (3), "needed vacant units" - the minimal number of vacant units required to permit mobility and choice in the housing market.

Table G summarizes these findings and also includes the mean gross rents paid by households whose income is below the poverty level.

These figures indicate that housing needs for low income families are most critical in urban areas - an average of 10% of urban housing is dilapidated, overcrowded, or needs to be replaced entirely. (The Division of State and Regional Planning admits that their estimates are extremely conservative). Seven percent of housing in the suburban counties is considered inadequate, and 7.6% in rural areas. In urban centers where there is the greatest demand for low income housing, such housing is most scarce.

Rents paid by the poor are on the average 12% higher in the suburbs than in the city, making it even more difficult for the poor and other low income groups to escape the tight housing markets in the cities. Moreover, this difference in average group rent gives no indication of the quality of dwellings involved: consider Newark's Model Cities application, which despite its attempts to sound optimistic admits that the problems of providing adequate housing for the ghetto area are almost insurmountable. "Deterioration, however, continues to spread. Portions of Newark are currently under the severe threat of environmental conditions which, in a few more years, could result in uninhabitable conditions." (Hurley, 1969: 204).

Table G

Housing (1970)

	Dilapidated Units	Overcrowded Units	Needed Vacant Units	% of Inadequate Units	Mean gross rent of households below poverty level
Bergen	8,033	7,758	5,709	7	$121
Essex	17,527	16,612	4,711	12	108
Hudson	11,062	13,120	3,795	13	92
Hunterdon	683	602	220	7	95
Morris	2,934	3,485	1,710	7	122
Passaic	7,109	7,036	3,006	11	103
Somerset	1,618	1,866	8,59	7	118
Sussex	861	948	135	8	111
Union	6,520	5,674	3,206	9	111
Warren	1,040	6,33	219	8	83

Unemployment.

The methodology for measuring unemployment is as controversial as that for poverty (in New Jersey it is currently the subject of litigation in federal court). Rates of unemployment are described in Table H. according to both the B.L.S. and the New Jersey State method of estimation.

Table H

Unemployment Estimates for Major Labor Market Areas 1975

	State Rate (%)	B.L.S. Rate (%)
Hackensack (Bergen County)	10.2	8.0
Jersey City (Hudson County)	15.2	12.2
Newark (Essex, Morris, Somerset & Union Counties)	12.4	10.7
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic (Passaic County)	14.7	11.8
Statewide	12.3	10.3
(Seasonally adjusted)	13.0	10.9

The unemployment rate alone is a highly unreliable index of poverty, though it is safe to say that the overwhelming majority of unemployed women who are family heads will have income falling below the poverty level (Newman, 1969: 35, 36). However, these figures do provide a picture of northern Jersey's tight labor markets and their distibution.

Northern Jersey, over the past few years, has suffered rates of unemployment higher than those of the State as a whole. Bergen, as to be expected, has the lowest unemployment rate, though if Somerset and Morris were separated from the Newark labor market area, their rate would probably approach Bergen's and the rates of the other counties in the area would rise accordingly, to approximate those of Hudson and Passaic. Here again, the urban/suburban dichotomy is apparent; the suburban labor market expands while the urban labor market shrinks.

Summary

Northern New Jersey is a densely populated highly urban region. Enclaves of poverty are largely restricted to the inner cities, though the poorest of the poor are distributed (unevenly) throughout the entire area. But in many respects - rate of growth, level of income, expanding labor markets and the relocation of industry - the surburban counties are beginning to assume the traditional role of urban centers in the economic and political life of the state. The process of dispersion from urban centers now has gone beyond the suburbs to what were once strictly rural areas. Left in the wake are the central cities, now more of a trap for lower-income, lower status groups than ever. Finally, certain socioeconomic differentials have remained nearly constant: the black/white income gap, residential segregation by racial, income, and occupation groups, and the persistence of poverty in one of the wealthiest states - on a per capita basis - in the nation.

FINDINGS*

1. Description of Sample

Sample. In all, 524 families were interviewed. The maltreating group comprised 72% (N=380) of the total sample. Forty-seven percent (N=246) were families in which neglect only had occurred, 20% (N=106) families in which neglect and abuse had occurred, and 5% (N=28) families in which abuse only occurred. The comparison group comprised 28% (N=144) of the total sample.

Sex. All but three percent of the respondents are women.

Age. The ages of respondents ranged from 18 to 69, the mean age being 32 (Item 103). Twenty three percent were 25 or younger, 27% between 26 and 30, 22% between 31 and 35, and 28% were 36 or older. The maltreating and the comparison group were essentially similar in age composition (Table 1.1).

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* The findings reported in this section come from the analysis of the interview data unless otherwise indicated. The text reports differences between the groups only for those findings which are statistically significant at a probability level of .05 or less. The statistical procedure usually performed was chi-square. Following Hubert Blalock's reccommendation in his book Social Statistics (New York: Mc Graw Hill, 1960, p. 218), we halved the obtained significance levels in those cases where we predicted beforehand the direction of the relationship. A test was used in certain analyses as noted in the text. Item numbers in the text refer to item numbers in the interview schedule included as Appendix H.

Table 1.1 Age By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARIS ON GROUP	ROW TOTAL
	2	4	
AGE			
18 - 25	82	36	118
	21.6	25.2	22.6
26 - 30	102	39	141
	26.9	27.3	27.0
31 - 35	81	35	116
	21.4	24.5	22.2
36 plus	114	33	147
	30.1	23.1	28.2
COLUMN TOTAL	379	143	522
	72.6	27.4	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 2.653795 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.09599 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4173

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

Ethnic Group. Most of the sample (61%) were Black; almost 3 out of 10 (29%) were white and another 10% were Hispanic (Item 18). As shown in Table 1.2 the maltreating group contained about the same proportion of Blacks, but proportionately more White and fewer Hispanic respondents than the comparison group.

Table 1.2 Ethnic Group
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

ETHNIC GROUP	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
869				
WHITE		119	31	150
		31.5	22.0	28.9
BLACK		228	89	317
		60.3	63.1	61.1
HISPANIC		31	21	52
		8.2	14.9	10.0
	COLUMN TOTAL	378	141	519
		72.8	27.2	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.92077 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.24733 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0190

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

Language Spoken. Roughly 9 out of 10 respondents (89%) usually speak English at home. Nine percent report Spanish as their usual language (Item 19). There are relatively fewer Hispanic respondents in the maltreating group, as shown above in Table 1.2.

Birthplace. Slightly more than 6 out of 10 respondents (61%) were raised in New Jersey and 9% in other parts of the Northeast. Twenty three percent were raised in the South and 6% in Puerto Rico (Item 108). Table 1.3 shows that maltreating parents were significantly more likely to be born in New Jersey and less likely to be born in the South.

Table 1.3 Birthplace
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

BRTHPLCE	COL PCT MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS ON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
NEW JERSEY	242	68	310
	64.9	50.4	61.0
OTHER NORTH EAST	38	10	48
	10.2	7.4	9.4
SOUTH	72	46	118
	19.3	34.1	23.2
PUERTO RICO	21	11	32
	5.6	0.1	6.3
COLUMN TOTAL	373	135	508
	73.4	26.6	

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.53897 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
CRAMR = 0.27916 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0023

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 16

Religion. Six out of ten respondents were Protestant, while 28% were Catholic. Other religious groups accounted for another 6%, with 5% reporting that they had no religious preference (Item 20). The maltreating and comparison groups had similar distributions on religious preference (Table 1.4).

Table 1.4 Religion
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

RELIGION	MALTREAT SAMPLE <	COMPARIS ON GROUP →	ROW TOTAL
PROTESTANT	227	87	314
	60.9	60.8	60.9
CATHOLIC	104	44	148
	27.9	30.8	28.7
OTHER	42	12	54
	11.3	8.4	10.5
COLUMN TOTAL	373	143	516
	72.3	27.7	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 1.11316 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.02069 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.5732
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 8

Education. Approximately seven out of ten respondents (71%) did not complete high school. One-fourth did not go beyond eighth grade. Of the 29% who completed high school only 7% went on to further education (Item 118). The median number of years of schooling for the total sample was 10.3. As shown in Table 1.5, the comparison group had significantly more years of schooling than the maltreating group.

Table 1.5 Education
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 1	COMPARIS ON GROUP 2	ROW TOTAL
0-8		107	25	132
		28.2	17.4	25.2
9-12		254	101	355
		67.0	70.1	67.9
13 +		18	18	36
		4.7	12.5	6.9
	COLUMN TOTAL	379	144	523
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.14293 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.33511
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0008
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Employment. Nearly 9 out of 10 respondents had worked at some time (Item 119). Using the Occupational Prestige Scale developed by the National Opinion Research Center (Lin, 1976, Appendix B) almost all of the respondents worked at jobs that fell at the lower end of the Scale (Item 120 a, c). Examples are: waitress, nurse's aide, factory work such as assemblers and machine operators, and domestic workers. Of those who reported a salary for their last job only 11% had made $140 or more per week on their last job (Item 120d).

There were no statistically significant differences between the two groups on having worked, ranking of last job, or salary received.

Welfare Status. Ninety three percent of all respondents were receiving welfare at the time that they were interviewed. Ninety two percent of the maltreating and 97% of the comparison respondents were receiving welfare at that point. Although this difference was statistically significant ($\chi^2=4.29$, 1df; $p=.04$) the difference is probably due to the fact that maltreating parents were contacted at a later point in the interviewing period and thus there was greater likelihood that they would no longer be on public assistance.

Six out of ten respondents first began receiving welfare 6 or more years ago; slightly more than one out of four (26%) began receiving welfare 10 or more years ago. A little more than one out of ten (12%) began to receive welfare two years ago or more recently, and nearly three out of ten (28%)

between three and five years ago (Item 93). It is important to note that these findings do not represent total time on welfare, since periods off welfare since first receiving it have not been taken into account. The two groups showed similar patterns on when they first received welfare.

We asked respondents whether they had been off welfare for more than two months since 1973 (Item 95). Eight out of ten indicated they had not been off for more than two months since 1973. The findings for the two groups were essentially the same.

Areas of the State. The sections of the State that accounted for the largest proportion of the total sample are Essex (Newark) (32%), Passaic (18%), and Union (14%), all heavily urban areas. No other area had more than 6% of the total sample.

As shown in Table 1.6, in only three areas was there a difference of more than five percent in the proportion of maltreating and comparison families. In Essex (Newark) the proportion of maltreating families was less (28% vs 40%), while in Union and Passaic, the relative proportion of maltreating families was greater. (The percentages are 17 vs. 6 for Union and 20 vs. 13 for Passaic).

At this stage of the analysis, the reasons for the differing proportions of respondents in these counties are not known with any certainty, though some possible explanations are suggested by the data. In Essex (Newark) the relatively smaller proportion of maltreating families may be due first,

to the fact that in the original pool of comparison (191) and DYFS (1700) families the proportion of comparison families was somewhat greater than the proportion of DYFS families and second, to the somewhat higher proportion of unlocated records at the Newark District Office. The difference cannot be explained by the interview completion rate for the Newark Essex maltreating group which was approximately at the mean for all district offices.

It is possible that the relatively higher proportion of maltreating respondents in Union County may be due to the outreach efforts of their specially funded Protective Service Demonstration Project. The difference between the maltreating and comparison groups in Passaic is not immediately apparent. The possible effect of these county differences between the maltreating and comparison groups upon the generalizability of the findings will be explored further by comparing the case record review data for the interviewed and non-interviewed maltreating respondents and will be presented in subsequent reports.

Table 1.6 Area Of State
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

AREA OF STATE	MALTREATING		COMPARISON	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
Bergen Co.	3	(12)	8	(12)
Essex(Newark)	28	(108)	40	(58)
Hudson Co.	16	(62)	21	(30)
Hunterdon Co.	1	(4)	0	(0)
Morris Co.	3	(11)	1	(1)
Passaic Co.	20	(77)	13	(18)
Somerset Co.	3	(10)	1	(2)
Sussex Co.	2	(6)	0	(0)
Union Co.	17	(66)	6	(8)
Warren Co.	1	(5)	2	(3)
Essex(Remaining)	5	(19)	8	(12)
TOTAL		380		144

2. Living on Welfare

The findings reported in this section pertain to housing, the possession of household and other material goods, food consumption, clothing, the Material Level of Living Index, how long welfare check lasts, debts, evictions, and current level of living compared with a year ago.

Housing

All but 5% of the respondents rent the place they are living in (Item 51). The mean amount paid for shelter per month is $165 (Items 52 and 53). Maltreating families pay on the average $169 and comparison families $153. The difference, which is statistically significant ($t=2.62$, $p < .01$), is probably accounted for by the fact that the maltreating families, who also have more children, have homes with more rooms. The difference in the mean number of rooms for the two groups is statistically significant ($t=2.29$, $p < .05$).

A key component in a family's material level of living are the housing conditions, such as the extent of over crowding, the extent of rat infestation, the amount of heating provided, the state of repair, and the plumbing and household equipment.

Extent of crowding. Almost 3 out of 10 families lived in homes where there were an average of one and a half persons per room or more (29%); approximately one out of three (35%) had between one and one and a half persons per room, and 36% had one person a room or less. The maltreating group had significantly more people per room (Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Number Of Persons Per Room
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF PERSONS PER ROOM	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
1.5-HIGH		124	29	153
		32.6	20.1	29.2
1-1.5		137	46	183
		36.1	31.9	34.9
.1-1		119	69	188
		31.3	47.9	35.9
	COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.10778 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.29340 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009

Asked about the sleeping arrangements for the children (Items 46-50) respondents report that 6% of the children sleep in a room other than a bedroom, which in almost all cases is the living room or dining room. Nearly 2 out of 10 families (19%) indicate that three or more persons share a room with one of their children. In about 1 out of 10 families (12%) a child has a room to him or her self. Seventeen percent of the families have a child who shares sleeping space (bed, crib, etc.) with two or more others, 43% have a child who shares sleeping space with one other person, and 40% have a child

who has his or her own sleeping space. In 75% of the families where a child shares a space, it is shared with a sibling, in 13% with a parent, and in the remaining 12% with other members of the household.

Although there were no significant differences between the maltreating and comparison samples on type of room in which the children sleep, the two groups did show significant differences in the number of persons sharing their children's room and the number of persons sharing their children's sleeping spaces, with the maltreating group sharing both significantly more frequently (Tables 2.2, 2.3). When number of children are held constant, the relationship tends to remain for number of persons sharing the room but no longer holds for sharing sleeping space.

Table 2.2 Number Of Persons Sharing Children's Room By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF PERSONS SHARING CHILDRENS ROOM	MALTREATING 1.1	COMPARISON 2.1	ROW TOTAL
0	31	32	63
	49.2	50.8	12.0
	8.2	22.2	
	5.9	6.1	
1	139	62	201
	89.2	30.8	38.4
	36.7	43.1	
	26.6	11.9	
2	118	42	160
	73.8	26.3	30.6
	31.1	29.2	
	22.6	8.0	
3 plus	91	8	99
	91.9	8.1	18.9
	24.6	5.6	
	17.4	1.5	
COLUMN TOTAL	379	144	523
	72.5	27.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 37.09012 with 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
GAMMA = -0.42131 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

Table 2.3 Number Of Person s Sharing Children's Sleeping Space By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF PERSONS SHARING CHILDREN'S SLEEPING SPACE	MALTREATING GROUP	COMPARISON GROUP	
0 =	(129) 34%	(79) 55%	208 40%
1 =	(178) 47%	(49) 34%	227 43%
2 =	(72) 19%	(16) 11%	88 17%
	379	144	523

CHI SQUARE = 19.72 with 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM; $p < .01$

Basic facilities. Almost all respondents (except for one) had a bathroom in their apartment or house, a bathtub (97%), a working toilet (98%), and a sink (97%). Only 55% had a shower (Item 44). The maltreating group was less likely to have a shower than the comparison group. On all other items dealing with bathroom facilities the groups were essentially similar (Table 2.4).

Nearly half the families (48%) have all four bathroom facilities (bathtub, working toilet, sink, and shower), nearly one out of four (39%) have all but a shower, and slightly more than one out of ten (13%) are missing not only the shower but also one or more of the other bathroom items. The maltreating group was significantly more likely than the comparison group to have fewer bathroom facilities (Table 2.5).

Almost all respondents had a cooking stove (99%) and a refrigerator (98%). (Item 90A, a & b).

Table 2.4 Having A Shower
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

SHOWER	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
YES	195 51.3	91 63.2	286 54.6
NO	185 48.7	53 36.8	238 45.4
COLUMN TOTAL	380 72.5	144 27.5	524 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.47433 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.23925 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0193

Table 2.5 Number Of Bathroom Facilities
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
LACKING SHOWER AND ONE OR MORE OTHER FACILITIES	51 13.4	15 10.4	66 12.6
ALL FACILITIES BUT A SHOWER	160 42.1	46 31.9	206 39.3
ALL FACILITIES	169 44.5	83 57.6	252 48.1
COLUMN TOTAL	380 72.5	144 27.5	524 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.25436 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.21954 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0266

Condition of house/apartment. Interviewers were asked to rate the state of repair of the room in which the interview took place (Item 3, Interviewer rating section). Slightly more than 1 out of 4 of the respondents' rooms (26%) were rated very poor or poor, slightly less than 3 out of 10 (28%) were rated adequate, and slightly less than 1 out of 2 (46%) good or very good. The rooms of the maltreating families were rated significantly more negatively (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 Condition Of Room
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

CONDITION OF ROOM	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARIS GROUP	ROW TOTAL
POOR/VERY POOR	108	26	134
	28.4	18.1	25.6
ADEQUATE	115	34	149
	30.3	23.6	28.4
GOOD/VERY GOOD	157	84	241
	41.3	58.3	46.0
COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
	72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 12.58801 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.28707 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0018

Two-thirds of the respondents stated that they never see rats in their home, one-fifth that they have seen rats somewhere between one and six times, and 14% that they have seen them more than six times (Item 62). No significant differences were found between the two groups.

Respondents were asked how often during the past winter their family was without enough heat in the house (Item 63). Nearly 6 out of 10 respondents (58%) indicated they had never been without heat, 14% had been without heat for most of the winter, and the remaining 28% had been without heat once or twice during the winter, or a few times a month. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups.

Household and other material possessions.

Presented below are the percentages of families having these possessions: (Item 90A c, f, 90B a-d).

	Maltreatment Group %	Comparison Group %	Total %
Washing machine	44	45	45
* Air conditioner	12	26	16
* Color T.V.	27	37	29
Car	15	15	15
* Radio	87	94	89
* Telephone	47	69	53
Alarm Clock	64	65	64
Wristwatch	48	56	50

As shown above, the maltreating group was significantly less likely than the comparison group to have an air conditioner, color TV, radio and telephone. There was a particularly large difference between the maltreating and comparison groups in the percentage having a telephone.

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* Differences between maltreating and comparison groups are statistically significant using a Chi square test ($p \leq .05$). N=524 for the total sample, 380 for maltreating group, and 144 for comparison group.

Taking three of the large items together (air conditioner, color TV, and car), we found that 57% had none of these, 28% had one, and 15% had two or three. The maltreating group was significantly less likely than the comparison group to have these large items (Table 2.7).

Table 2.7 Number Of Large Items By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF LARGE ITEMS	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
NONE		229	69	298
		60.3	47.9	56.9
ONE		105	44	149
		27.6	30.6	28.4
TWO	OR THREE	46	31	77
		12.1	21.5	14.7
	COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 9.42250 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.24297 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0090

Combining four other items (radio, telephone, alarm clock,and wristwatch), 19% had one or none, 56% had two or three, and 26% had all four. The maltreating group had significantly fewer of these items (Table 2.8).

Table 2.8 Number Of Other Items
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF OTHER ITEMS	2	4	ROW TOTAL
ONE OR NONE	80	17	97
	21.1	11.8	18.5
TWO OR THREE	216	77	293
	56.8	53.5	55.9
FOUR	84	50	134
	22.1	34.7	25.6
COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
	72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 11.53637 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.28874 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0031

Ever had Car

Respondents were asked whether they had ever owned a car (Item 72). Almost one out of four respondents (23%) indicated that they had. Essentially the same percentage of maltreating and comparison respondents reported ever owning a car.

In answer to the question of whether they ever had a driver's license (Item 73), one out of three respondents indicated that they had. As shown in Table 2.9, the differences between the two groups were substantial, with the maltreating respondents less likely than comparison respondents to have ever had a driver's license.

Table 2.9 Having Ever Had A Driver's License
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HAVING EVER HAD A DRIVER'S LICENSE	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
YES		111	63	174
		29.2	43.8	33.2
NO		269	81	350
		70.8	56.3	66.8
COLUMN TOTAL		380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 9.30834 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.30673 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0023

Food Consumption

Respondents were asked whether during the past month they or anyone in the family went hungry for a day or more because there wasn't enough food in the house (Item 75). Slightly more than 1 out of 10 respondents (12%) said they had gone hungry for a day or more. Of those who had gone hungry for lack of food, the bulk (63%) indicated that this had been in the last few days of the month (Item 76). Respondents in the maltreating group were significantly more likely than those in the comparison group to report they had gone hungry (Table 2.10).

Table 2.10 Going Hungry
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

WENT HUNGRY	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARIS GROUP	ROW TOTAL
YES	54	10	64
	14.2	6.9	12.2
NO	326	134	460
	85.8	93.1	87.8
COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
	72.5	27.5	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 4.48674 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.37881 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0342

More than 8 out of 10 families (81%) had meat just about every day. Just about all the remaining families (18%) had meat a few times a week (Item 78). Families in both groups had meat about the same number of times per week.

Approximately one-third of the families (32%) reported that, altogether, their children drink a quart or less of milk a day, another third (34%) that their children drink two or three quarts a day, and the remaining third (34%) that their children drink four quarts or more (Item 80).

The families of maltreating respondents consumed larger amounts of milk than the families of comparison respondents. When number of children were controlled, the two groups showed essentially the same patterns of milk comsumption except for the families with two children. For families of this size statistically significant differences remained, the maltreating respondents still reporting that their children drink more milk.

In reply to the question of how often they buy a meal out, (Item 74), a little more than a third of the families (34%) never buy a meal out or do so only once or twice a year. Another fourth buy a meal out more than once a month. The remaining families (42%) buy a meal out every couple of months or about once a month. The differences between the two groups were not statistically significant.

Clothing

Asked when was the last time the respondent got a new winter coat or jacket for herself (Item 66), 20% of the respondents said either never, or more than three winters ago,

35% said two or three winters ago, and 46% said last winter. The maltreating group was significantly less likely than the comparison group to have gotten a new winter coat or jacket recently. (Table 2.11).

Table 2.11 Last Time Got New Winter Coat Or Jacket By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

LAST TIME GOT NEW WINTER COAT OR JACKET.	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
MORE THAN 3 WINTERS AGO OR NEVER	82 / 21.8	19 / 13.4	101 / 19.5
2 OR 3 WINTERS AGO	125 / 33.2	55 / 38.7	180 / 34.7
LAST WINTER	169 / 44.9	68 / 47.9	237 / 45.8
COLUMN TOTAL	376 / 72.6	142 / 27.4	518 / 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 4.84322 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.11071 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0888

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

Almost all of the respondents (97%) reported having bought a new winter coat, jacket, or snowsuit for their children last winter or the previous winter. Eighty-eight percent of all families bought this winter garment for their children last year (Item 67).

Almost all respondents (96%) got new shoes for their children in the last few months prior to the interview (Item 69).

Material Level of Living Index

We selected from a large pool of items a set of 12 which, when combined, provided a summary measure of the degree of current material deprivation of the families in the sample. The items covered condition of housing, possession of household and other material goods, and consumption patterns for food and clothing. The Index items are:

Number of persons per room

Interviewers rating of condition of room in which the interview took place

Bathroom facilities

Adequacy of heat

Presence of rats

Having a washing machine

Number of large consumer items - air conditioner, color T.V., car

Number of other items - radio, telephone, alarm clock, wristwatch

Going hungry for a day or more

Consumption of meat

Buying a meal out

Last time respondent got a new winter coat

The weights assigned to the Index items ranged from one to four; a weight of one represented the most severe material deprivation while a weight of four was indicative of having more than the most basic necessities. The weightings, while to some extent unavoidably subjective, appear to

us to be reasonable.

We followed standardized procedures for eliminating items which did not meet certain statistical criteria. The full details of the construction of the Index are shown in Appendix D.

Material Level of Living Index scores ranged from a low of 17 to a high of 35, with a mean of 27.5. Table 2.12 shows that when the scores were collapsed into categories of low, medium, and high the maltreating families were living at a significantly lower level.

Table 2.12 Material Level Of Living
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

MATERIAL LEVEL OF LIVING	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
LOW	122 / 33.0	20 / 14.2	142 / 27.8
MEDIUM	120 / 32.4	48 / 34.0	168 / 32.9
HIGH	128 / 34.6	73 / 51.8	201 / 39.3
COLUMN TOTAL	370 / 72.4	141 / 27.6	511 / 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 20.70926 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.35863 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 15

How long welfare check lasts.

For almost two out of three respondents (64%), their welfare checks ran out within the first two weeks of the month (Item 96a). Only one out of ten respondents said that their check lasted the entire month. For 20% it ran out in the third week and for 6% it ran out in the last week. The two groups were essentially similar on how long their welfare check lasted.

Debts.

Respondents were asked whether they owe money to any relatives, friends or to places like stores, banks, or finance companies (Item 91). Forty-six percent of the respondents owed money. Of those reporting debts, slightly more than a third (36%) owed less than $200, almost a fourth (24%) owed between $200 and $499, one out of five between $500 and $999, and slightly more than one out of five (21%) owed $1,000 or more (Item 92).

The two groups were essentially similar as to whether or not they were in debt and in the amount of debt.

Evictions.

Eighteen percent of the families reported having been evicted at least once. Four percent were evicted more than once (Items 56, 57, 58). As can be observed in Table 2.13, the maltreating families were significantly more likely than comparison families to have been evicted.

Table 2.13 Evictions
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HAS BEEN EVICTED	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
YES		82	12	94
		21.7	8.4	18.0
NO		296	131	427
		78.3	91.6	82.0
COLUMN TOTAL		378	143	521
		72.6	27.4	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 11.53075 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.50301 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Current level of living compared with a year ago.

The interview included five questions (Items 64, 79, 81, 96b, 97) designed to provide data on the extent to which the ability of families to manage economically was affected by the general inflationary economic trends. This in turn was expected to affect the ability of the parent to provide adequate child care. The items and percentage of respondents

reporting themselves to be worse off, the same, or better off compared to a year ago are presented below:

	Worse Off	Same	Better Off
Thinking back to the winter before the past winter, did you have heat more often, less often, or about as often as this past winter?	20%	65%	15%
Thinking back to a year ago, could you afford to have meat less often, more often, or about as often as now?	20%	59%	20%
Thinking back to a year ago, could you afford to buy more, less, or the same amount of milk as now?	22%	58%	20%
Thinking about a year ago, did your welfare check last longer, shorter, or about the same amount of time as last month?	31%	56%	13%
Summing it all up, as far as what you are able to afford for you and your children, are you worse off, better off, or living at about the same level as you were living a year ago?	29%	52%	19%

As can be seen in the above findings, on each of the items a majority of respondents thought they were about as well off this year as last. On most of the items the percentage who perceived themselves as better off was about the same as the percentage who perceived themselves as worse off. However on length of time that their welfare check lasts and on an overall assessment of what they are able to afford, the percentage of "worse off" responses exceeds those of the "better off."

The patterns of responses for the maltreating and comparison groups were essentially similar on the individual items and for a combined Worse off - Better off Index. The procedures for constructing the Index are described in Appendix D .

3. Ecological environment.

An important area of investigation frequently associated with adequacy of family functioning is the social and physical environment. The interviews included questions about the respondent's perception of the neighborhood, the extent of social isolation, geographic mobility, and the use of social services.

An eight-item Perception of Neighborhood Index (described in Appendix D) covering safety, economic conditions, neighborliness and housing conditions (Item 65) was part of the interview schedule. A substantial proportion of respondents for the sample as a whole had negative perceptions of the neighborhood in which they lived. Forty-one percent thought there is a lot of crime in their neighborhood, 50% reported that most of the people are on welfare, 29% said that people did not have good jobs, 37% felt there are a lot of drugs used, 40% stated that most of the houses are run down, 36% felt people don't help each other out when there's trouble, 42% thought it is dangerous at night, and 20% considered their neighborhood to be dangerous in the daytime.

The respondents in the maltreating group were significantly more negative about their neighborhood than those in

the comparison group for three of the eight neighborhood characteristics mentioned above: amount of crime, rundown housing, and neighborliness. On the five items for which the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant, a greater proportion of maltreating parents perceived their neighborhood more negatively (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Neighborhood Perceptions By Maltreating and Comparison Groups

		% Maltreating Group (N=380)	% Comparison Group (N=144)
* There's a lot of crime in the neighborhood	(True)	43	36
There are mostly people on welfare in the neighborhood	(True)	52	44
The people in the neighborhood have good jobs	(False)	31	24
There's a lot of drugs used in the neighborhood	(True)	38	34
* Most of the houses are pretty rundown	(True)	43	33
* People in the neighborhood help each other out when there's trouble	(False)	38	28
It's dangerous in this neighborhood at night	(True)	44	35
It's dangerous in this neighborhood in the daytime	(True)	22	16

* Significant at $p < .05$ using chi-square test.

Consistent with these findings, a score combining the eight neighborhood items showed the maltreatment group to be significantly more negative than the comparison group (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Perception Of Neighborhood By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

PERCEPTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARISON GROUP	ROW TOTAL
POOREST	118	28	146
	31.7	20.1	28.6
	127	46	173
	34.1	33.1	33.9
BEST	127	65	192
	34.1	46.8	37.6
COLUMN TOTAL	372	139	511
	72.8	27.2	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 9.07019 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.24482 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0107
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 13

Social isolation was measured by a number of items concerned with informal contacts with friends and relatives and membership and participation (Items 22, 125-130) in organizations such as church and social clubs. Many of the items come from Bradburn, 1969.

The sample as whole appeared to be socially isolated. In support of this are the findings that 23% had no contact with relatives outside the household during the two weeks prior to the interview, 18% saw no friends during the same period, and an additional 49% got together with friends once or twice, 42% chatted with friends by telephone less than once a day, 25% got out of the house once or twice or not at all in the week before the interview, and 71% belonged to no organization such as a church or social clubs.

In all of the above social isolation items except on how often during the past week the respondent got out of the house, the maltreating group was significantly more socially isolated than the comparison group (Table 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6).

Scores derived by combining all social isolation items showed the maltreating group to be significantly more socially isolated (Table 3.7). See Appendix D for a description of the procedures followed in constructing the Social Isolation Index.

Table 3.3 Contact With Relatives By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	MALTREAT COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
HAD CONTACT WITH RELATIVES			
YES	284 / 74.9	119 / 82.6	403 / 77.1
NO	95 / 25.1	25 / 17.4	120 / 22.9
COLUMN TOTAL	379 / 72.5	144 / 27.5	523 / 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 3.08160 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.22847 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0792

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Table 3.4 Seeing Friends
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

SEES FRIENDS	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
NOT AT ALL	76 20.2	17 11.9	93 17.9
ONCE OR TWICE	186 49.5	70 49.0	256 49.3
THREE-FOUR TIMES	61 16.2	38 26.6	99 19.1
FIVE TIMES OR MO	53 14.1	18 12.6	71 13.7
COLUMN TOTAL	376 72.4	143 27.6	519 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 10.00244 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.16571 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0185

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

Table 3.5 Chatting With Friends
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

CHATS WITH FRIENDS	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
LESS THAN ONCE DY	131 45.8	37 31.4	168 41.6
ONCE OR TWICE DY	91 31.8	55 46.6	146 36.1
THREE OR MORE DY	64 22.4	26 22.0	90 22.3
COLUMN TOTAL	286 70.8	118 29.2	404 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 9.25551 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.16742 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0098

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 120

Table 3.6 Number Of Organizations
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS GN GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
NONE	282 74.4	91 62.2	373 71.3
ONE OR MORE	97 25.6	53 36.8	150 28.7
COLUMN TOTAL	379 72.5	144 27.5	523 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.87657 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.25739 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0153

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Table 3.7 Social Isolation
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

DEGREE OF ISOLATION	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS GN GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
MOST ISOLATED	124 33.3	34 24.1	158 30.8
	146 39.2	47 33.3	193 37.6
LEAST ISOLATED	102 27.4	60 42.6	162 31.6
COLUMN TOTAL	372 72.5	141 27.5	513 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 11.10009 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.24967 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0037

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 11

We asked respondents how many times they had moved since the beginning of 1974 (Item 59). Two-thirds had moved at least one time. While the maltreating group moved significantly more often than the comparison group (Table 3.8), the differences may be due to the fact that the maltreating families were contacted at a later point in the interviewing process than the comparison families.

Table 3.8 Frequency Of Moving
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

COUNT / COL PCT	SAMPLE 2	UN GROUP 4	TOTAL
NUMBER OF TIMES			
NONE	119	55	174
	31.5	38.2	33.3
ONCE	102	49	151
	27.0	34.0	28.9
TWO OR MORE	157	40	197
	41.5	27.8	37.7
COLUMN TOTAL	378	144	522
	72.4	27.6	

RAW CHI SQUARE = 8.42706 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.19850 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0148

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

Parents were asked whether they used various social services (Item 98). The percentage of respondents using each of the services for the two groups and total sample is shown below:

	Maltreating %	N	Comparison %	N	Total
* Free Breakfast/Lunch Program at School	79%	(368)	60%	(136)	73%
Health Care at Hospitals or clinics	70%	(378)	64%	(143)	68%
* Legal Aid	29%	(379)	18%	(142)	26%
Planned Parenthood, Family Planning	25%	(378)	26%	(143)	25%
* Counseling	25%	(379)	9%	(142)	20%
* Day Care	23%	(377)	14%	(140)	20%
* Mental Health Clinic	18%	(378)	9%	(143)	16%
Job Finding-Employment Office	15%	(376)	14%	(140)	15%
Job Training	12%	(377)	8%	(142)	11%
* Homemaker Services	14%	(378)	2%	(142)	10%
Housing Relocation	11%	(373)	5%	(142)	9%
Alcoholism Treatment Programs	4%	(376)	1%	(143)	3%
Drug Addiction Treatment Programs	4%	(377)	0%	(143)	3%

As shown above the maltreating families were significantly more likely than comparison families to use the Free Breakfast/Lunch Programs at School, Legal Aid, Counseling, Day Care, Mental Health Clinic and Homemaker Services. Respondents were

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* Significant at $p < .05$ using chi-square test.

questioned about the degree of satisfaction with each of the services they received and the responses combined into an overall average satisfaction score. As shown in Table 3.9, maltreating respondents expressed greater satisfaction than comparison respondents. (Appendix D describes procedures followed for constructing Service Satis faction Index.)

Table 3.9 Satisfaction With Services By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
MOST SATISFIED	140	31	171
	38.0	24.2	34.5
	120	55	175
	32.6	43.0	35.3
LEAST SATISFIED	108	42	150
	29.3	32.8	30.2
COLUMN TOTAL	368	128	496
	74.2	25.8	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 8.33004 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.177++ SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0140

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 28

The four services most frequently mentioned as helpful were the Free Breakfast/Lunch Programs at School, Health Care at Hospitals or Clinics, Day Care, and Legal Aid.

Asked when their children go to the doctor (Item 41), a little more than half (54%) indicated they make regular visits, 45% go primarily when a child is sick, and in only one case did a respondent indicate that their children never went to the doctor. No statistically significant differences were found between the two groups.

Nearly one-fourth of all respondents (23%) said that they do not have a doctor that they can trust. Small but statistically significant differences were found between the two groups, the maltreating families less likely than the comparison families to report having a doctor they can trust (Table 3.10).

Table 3.10 Having A Doctor They Can Trust
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON CHILD 4	ROW TOTAL
HAS A DOCTOR THEY CAN TRUST			
YES	281	120	401
	74.7	83.9	77.3
NO	95	23	118
	25.3	16.1	22.7
COLUMN TOTAL	376	143	519
	72.4	27.6	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 4.46318 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.27638 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0346

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

4. Childrearing Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices.

This section reports on findings pertaining to attitudes toward discipline, expectations of child development, the parent's perception of their children, problems encountered in raising them, and whether or not they receive any help with their children.

Discipline

Spanking a child over one. The interview instrument included a set of items on attitudes toward spanking used in the 1968 survey for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (Items 32 and 33). More than 8 out of 10 parents (84%) in the total sample indicated approval of spanking a healthy child over a year old under certain circumstances. Nearly a third (32%) approved if the child

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* These items are discussed in Erlanger (1974).

was noisy and getting on the parent's nerves, nearly two-thirds (65%) approved if the child had been disobedient all day, more than a third (37%) approved if the child had been expelled from school, and nearly a half (48%) approved if the child had broken a law. On none of the items was there a statistically significant difference between the maltreating and comparison groups.

Consistent with the above findings, when these items were combined into a total score the two groups did not differ significantly. Procedures for constructing the Attitude Toward Spanking a Child Index are described in Appendix D.

Spanking an infant. Parents were also asked four questions about when they would approve of spanking an infant - a child under one year of age.

An overwhelming majority of parents in the total sample disapproved of spanking an infant. Ninety-four percent disapproved if the infant was crying too much, 97% if the infant soiled his diaper, 97% if the infant didn't go to sleep on time, and 93% if the infant was demanding a lot of attention.

For only one of the four items above, "spanking an infant who was crying a lot," was the difference between the maltreating and comparison group statistically significant. The difference was not in the expected direction, the maltreating group expressing stronger disapproval of spanking (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Spanking An Infant
Who Was Crying Alot By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

APPROVE SPANKING	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
NO OR NOT SURE		369	131	500
		97.1	91.0	95.4
YES		11	13	24
		2.9	9.0	4.6
	COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 7.63913 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM,
GAMMA = 0 53799 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0057

The combined score of these four items (Attitude Toward Spanking an Infant Index) showed a significant difference between the maltreating and the comparison group but again in the direction of the maltreating group expressing more disapproval of spanking an infant than the comparison group (Table 4.2). Index construction procedures appear in Appendix D.

Table 4.2 Attitude Toward Spanking An Infant By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

ATTITUDE TOWARD SPANKING	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
DISAPPR	341 / 89.7	116 / 80.6	457 / 87.2
APPROVES	39 / 10.3	28 / 19.4	67 / 12.8
COLUMN TOTAL	380 / 72.5	144 / 27.5	524 / 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 7.09206 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.35702 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0077

Other forms of discipline. Five questions concerned different ways which parents use to get their children to obey (Item 35).

More than three-fourths of the total sample (77%) approved of spanking as a way of getting their children to obey. The more severe form of physical discipline, hitting with a strap until it hurts, was approved by 22%. Nearly all (97%) approved of reasoning with children, 89% approved of sending a child to his room, and 53% approved of shouting

and yelling at children.

The two groups differed significantly in their approval of hitting a child with a strap until it hurts. The maltreating respondents expressed stronger approval of this more extreme form of discipline than the comparison respondents (Table 4.3). On the other items the attitudes of the two groups were similar.

Table 4.3 Hitting Child With Strap By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HITTING WITH STRAP	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
APPROVAL	91	24	115
	23.9	16.7	21.9
NON APPROVAL	289	120	409
	76.1	83.3	78.1
COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
	72.5	27.5	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 2.82044 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = .0 22312 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0931

The combined scores of four items (shouting and yelling, spanking, hitting with a strap until it hurts, and sending

a child to his/her room revealed the maltreating group to be significantly more approving of punishment (Table 4.4). Attitude Toward Punishment Index construction procedures appear in Appendix

Table 4.4 Attitude Toward Punishment By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

ATTITUDE TOWARD PUNISHMENT		MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS ON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
	COUNT	106	32	138
MUST APPROVAL	COL PCT	27.9	22.2	26.3
	COUNT	172	60	232
	COL PCT	45.3	41.7	44.3
	COUNT	102	52	154
LEAST APPROVAL	COL PCT	26.8	36.1	29.4
COLUMN TOTAL		380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 4.03374 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.16603 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0980

Strictness. The parents in the sample were asked whether they viewed themselves as more strict, just as strict or less strict than other parents (Item 37). More than half (57%) viewed themselves as more strict or at least as strict as other parents. The difference between the two groups was not statistically significant.

Parental Expectations

Parents were asked a series of questions about the ages at which children are expected to achieve certain developmental skills (Item 27).

The mean ages in months given by the two groups and total sample are presented below.

	Maltreatment	Comparison	Total
Feed self	16.3	17.1	16.5
Dress self	34.2	36.7	34.9
Sleep through the night without waking up	15.3	14.6	15.1
Understand what you mean when you say ... No.	19.3	18.2	19.0
Begin to walk	12.0	12.0	12.0
Be toilet trained or potty trained	18.7	18.1	18.5
Begin to say words	14.4	13.2	14.1
Keep away from things like hot stoves and sharp knives	21.4	20.5	21.3
Understand why they're being punished	30.0	29.6	30.0

None of the differences between the groups were significant.

For all the activities except "begin to walk" the mean ages fall within, but at the younger end, of the range of norms established by Gesell (1940; 1974). However, parents in the Child Care Study expected children to begin to walk somewhat earlier than within the age range reported by Gesell.

View of children

Parents were asked whether five statements about children were true or false (Item 29).

Only 12% agreed with the statement that some children are just born bad, 53% thought children nowadays are just spoiled rotten, 47% thought children should do what they

are told without questioning, almost a third (32%) agreed with the adage, spare the rod and spoil the child, and 28% thought children should be seen and not heard.

A significantly larger percentage of the maltreating group agreed with the statement "some children are just born bad," with no statistically significant differences found for the other items (Table 4.4a).

Table 4.4a Some Children Are Just Born Bad By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

SOME CHILDREN ARE JUST BORN BAD	MALTREATING		COMPARISON	
	%	N	%	N
TRUE	14	(54)	6	(8)
UNCERTAIN OR FALSE	86	(326)	95	(136)
TOTAL		380		144

CHI SQUARE = 7.442; 1 df; p .01

When the 5 items were combined into a single score no statistically significant differences were found between the maltreating and the comparison groups. (Attitude Toward Children Index construction procedures appear in Appendix D).

Why children misbehave

Parents were asked to indicate the main reason that children misbehave (Item 28). Three percent of the respondents thought it was because children are born bad, 28% because parents don't bring them up strictly enough, and more than half (56%) because parents don't give them enough love and attention.

There was no significant difference between the maltreating and the comparison groups.

Problems of raising children.

Parents were asked about some of the specific problems they had raising each of their children (Item 23). Slightly more than a quarter of the children (26%) wouldn't do what they were told, 14% of the children cried a lot, 10% wouldn't go to sleep, 10% had toilet training problems, 9% had eating problems and 18% had problems fighting and hitting people. There are slight but statistically significant differences between the two groups on having problems with crying a lot, getting to sleep, and eating (Table 4.5).

Table 4.5

Problems Raising Children
By Maltreating and Comparison Groups
(Percentage of children for whom problem reported)

	Maltreating %	Maltreating N	Comparison %	Comparison N	Total
Had problems with:					
Not doing what you tell him/her to do	26	(1453)	25	(388)	26
* Crying a lot	13	(1453)	17	(391)	14
* Getting him/her to sleep	9	(1455)	13	(390)	10
Toilet Training	10	(1443)	10	(385)	10
* Eating	8	(1446)	12	(390)	9
Fighting or hitting people	18	(1451)	21	(383)	18

When these various problems were combined into a score of average problems per family there was no significant difference between the maltreating and the comparison groups.

How parents feel about their children.

Item 36 explored the feelings of parents about their children. Almost 8 out of 10 parents in the total sample (79%) said they hug and cuddle their children a lot, 46% said their children get on their nerves, 97% said they were proud of their children, 93% said their children are their source of happiness, 41% said their children were a constant source of worry and almost a third (31%) thought their children don't appreciate what they did.

For three of the six above items the differences between the maltreating and the comparison groups were statistically significant. The maltreating sample was more likely to view their children as a source of worry, less likely to feel

* Significant at $p < .05$ using chi square test.

their children are what makes them happy, and more likely to say their children don't appreciate what they do (Table 4.6).

When these six items were combined into a total score the maltreating sample was significantly more negative about their children than the comparison sample (Table 4.7). Enjoyment of Children Index construction procedures appear in Appendix D.

Table 4.6

Feelings of Parents Toward Children by Maltreating and Comparison Groups (Percentage who report these statements to be mostly true)

	Maltreating (N=380) %	Comparison (N=144) %	Total (N=524) %
I hug and cuddle them a lot	77	83	79
My children get on my nerves a lot	47	44	46
I am proud of my children	97	98	97
* My children are what makes me happy	91	98	93
* My children are a source of constant worry	45	31	41
* My children don't appreciate what I do	33	25	31

* Significant at $p < .05$, using chi square test.

Table 4.7 Enjoyment Of Children
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

ENJOYMENT OF CHILDREN	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
LEAST POSITIVE	189 / 50.7	55 / 38.7	244 / 47.4
MOST POSITIVE	184 / 49.3	87 / 61.3	271 / 52.6
COLUMN TOTAL	373 / 72.4	142 / 27.6	515 / 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.40983 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.23804 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0200

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 9

Interaction with children.

Parents were asked about the frequency with which they participated in certain activities with their children(Item 25). Parents mentioned doing the following things with their children at least once a week: taking their children visiting friends or relatives (68%), teaching their children some basic skills like the alphabet or telling time (71%), telling stories or looking at books with their children (64%), and discussing things that happened at school (80%).

There were no significant differences between the maltreating and the comparison samples on individual items and when the items were combined into an Index. Activities of Parent with Children Index construction procedures appear in Appendix D .

Child characteristics.

The respondents were presented with a list of nine descriptive words and phrases and asked to indicate which child or children the particular word or phrase described (Item 26). The descriptive words and phrases and percentage of children so described by the respondents is presented below. The percentage for two items "does poorly in school" and "does well in school" are reported in the section on Child Characteristics.

	Maltreating Group		Comparison Group		Total Sample
	%	N	%	N	%
Loving	57	(1450)	62	(390)	58
* Well behaved	46	(1452)	58	(390)	49
* Stubborn	33	(1452)	39	(390)	34
* Lies a lot	24	(1447)	17	(382)	23
Wants own way	40	(1449)	37	(390)	39
* Smart	44	(1448)	59	(387)	47
Acts fresh	25	(1446)	26	(384)	25

* Significant at $p < .05$ using chi square test.

As shown, maltreated children were less likely than comparison children to be described as well-behaved or smart, and more likely to be described as lying a lot. However, more comparison than maltreating group children were described as stubborn.

The nine items were combined into a score. A comparison of these scores showed the maltreating group to be significantly more negative toward their children than the comparison group (Table 4.8).

Table 4.8 Evaluation Of Children
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

EVALUATION OF CHILDREN	COUNT / ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	MALTREATING 1.1	COMPARISON 2.1	ROW TOTAL
MOST POSITIVE		79	49	128
		61.7	38.3	24.5
		20.8	34.0	
		15.1	9.4	
		94	42	136
		69.1	30.9	26.0
		24.8	29.2	
		18.0	8.0	
		100	30	130
		76.9	23.1	24.9
		26.4	20.8	
		19.1	5.7	
MOST NEGATIVE		106	23	129
		82.2	17.8	24.7
		28.0	15.0	
		20.3	4.4	
COLUMN TOTAL		379	144	523
		72.5	27.5	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 15.55725 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0014

Child care help.

Only 29% of the total sample had any help at all with taking care of their children. The difference between the maltreating and comparison parents was not statistically significant.

Parental attitudes toward child care.

Eighty-six percent of all parents said they enjoyed taking care of children (Item 30). A significantly smaller proportion of the maltreating group enjoyed taking care of children (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Enjoyment Of Child Care
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

DEGREE OF ENJOYMENT	COUNT / COL PCT MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS GN GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
ENJOYS	306 / 82.9	129 / 92.1	435 / 85.5
JUST OCE	63 / 17.1	11 / 7.9	74 / 14.5
COLUMN TOTAL	369 / 72.5	140 / 27.5	509 / 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 6.21614 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.41425 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0127

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 19

5. Familial Background of Parent

Respondents were asked a number of questions pertaining to their childhood. In general, a substantial proportion report having grown up under adverse circumstances. Forty-eight percent of the respondents were not raised by both their natural parents (Item 104), 18% spent more than six months out of the home they were raised in (Item 106), and only 25% of the mothers and 18% of the fathers of the respondents finished high school (Items 109 and 110). Twenty percent of the families of the respondents were on welfare at least some of the time (Item 111). Thirty-two percent of the sample were beaten hard as young children, and 17% beaten often or very often (Items 112, 113). A general indicant of the respondent's happiness when she was growing up (Item 117) shows that 34% of the sample felt they did not have happy childhoods.

In addition, 25% of the respondents grew up in a home in which there was a heavy drinker, 27% felt neglected as children, 16% went hungry a good number of times, 26% didn't have decent clothes to wear most of the time, and 10% felt that their families did not do their best in raising the respondant (Items 116 b-f).

The differences between the maltreating and comparison respondents are statistically significant for a number of background items and in general reflect a more difficult childhood for the maltreating respondents. The maltreating

respondents were significantly less likely to have been raised by both parents. Parents of maltreating respondents were less likely to have finished high school. Maltreating parents are more likely to say they felt neglected as children, and that they didn't have decent clothes to wear. Rating their overall happiness during childhood, a significantly greater proportion of the maltreating than comparison group remember being unhappy or neither happy nor sad. Significantly more of the maltreating group respondents than comparison group respondents recall having been beaten as young children (Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5, 5.6, 5.7).

Five items formed a Growing-Up Index, a measure of the respondent's background; whether there was a heavy drinker in the respondent's home, whether the respondent felt neglected, went hungry, or didn't have decent clothes to wear, and felt that their families did their best in raising the respondent (Items 116 b-f). Index construction procedures appear in Appendix D . Findings from the Index indicate a significant difference between the two groups, the maltreating parents being more likely to have experienced difficult home lives (Table 5.8).

All of the background variables, including those used in the GrowingUp Index, were combined into an overall measure of the respondent's upbringing. The findings for the Childhood Index showed that the parents in the maltreating group grew up under more difficult conditions than parents in the comparison group (Table 5.9). Index construction procedures appear in Appendix D .

Table 5.1 Raised By Both Parents
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

WHO RAISED	MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS ON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
NEITHER MOTHER NOR FATHER	77 20.3	20 13.9	97 18.5
MOTHER OR FATHER	116 30.6	36 25.0	152 29.1
MOTHER AND FATHER	186 49.1	88 61.1	274 52.4
COLUMN TOTAL	379 72.5	144 27.5	523 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 6.33811 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.21605
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0420
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 1

Table 5.2 Respondent's Mother Finished
High School By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL	MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS ON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
	89	41	130
NS	23.4	28.5	24.8
	234	94	328
NO NS	61.6	65.3	62.6
	57	9	66
DK,NA	15.0	6.3	12.6
COLUMN TOTAL	380 72.5	144 27.5	524 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.64991 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.21063
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0218

Table 5.3 Respondent's Father Finished High School By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS ON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
HS	62 / 16.3	30 / 20.8	92 / 17.6
NO HS	219 / 57.6	99 / 68.8	318 / 60.7
DK,NA	99 / 26.1	15 / 10.4	114 / 21.8
COLUMN TOTAL	380 / 72.5	144 / 27.5	524 / 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 15.07021 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.30209
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0005

Table 5.4 Respondent Felt Neglected As A Child By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

FELT NEGLECTED	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS ON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
TRUE	111 / 29.2	30 / 20.8	141 / 26.9
	15 / 3.9	1 / 0.7	16 / 3.1
NOT TRUE	254 / 66.8	113 / 78.5	367 / 70.0
COLUMN TOTAL	380 / 72.6	144 / 27.5	524 / 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 8.35900 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.26573
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0153

Table 5.5 Respondent Didn't Have Decent Clothes As Child By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NO DECENT CLOTHES	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS GN GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
TRUE		109	26	135
		28.7	18.1	25.8
		9	1	10
		2.4	0.7	1.9
NOT TRUE		262	117	379
		68.9	81.3	72.3
COLUMN TOTAL		380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 6.29756 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.31131 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0158

Table 5.6 Overall Happiness As Child By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HAPPINESS	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARIS GN GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
SAD AND VERY SAD		59	13	72
		15.7	9.1	13.9
NEITHER HAP		84	23	107
		22.3	16.1	20.6
HAPPY-VERY HAPPY		233	107	340
		62.0	74.8	65.5
COLUMN TOTAL		376	143	519
		72.4	27.6	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.83469 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.27402 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0199

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

Table 5.7 Having Been Beaten As Child
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HAVING BEEN BEATEN	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
YES. OFTEN		75	9	84
		20.1	6.3	16.3
YES.NOT OFTEN		54	26	80
		14.5	18.3	15.5
NEVER		244	107	351
		65.4	75.4	68.2
COLUMN TOTAL		373	142	515
		72.4	27.6	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.41708 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.27148 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0007

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 9

Table 5.8 Growing-Up Index Score
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

QUALITY OF GROWING-UP	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
WORST		124	29	153
		33.2	20.3	29.7
		100	30	130
		26.8	21.2	25.4
		149	78	227
BEST		39.9	54.5	44.0
COLUMN TOTAL		373	143	516
		72.3	27.7	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 10.97221 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.27088 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0041

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 8

Table 5.9 Childhood Index Score
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

QUALITY OF CHILDHOOD	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARIS GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
POOREST		118	24	142
		33.3	17.6	29.0
		132	52	184
		37.3	38.2	37.6
BEST		104	60	164
		29.4	44.1	33.5
	COLUMN TOTAL	354	136	490
		72.2	27.8	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.74328 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.31247
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0006

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 34

6. Current Family Composition

Number of Children

There are 1,856 children in the total sample, 1,462 in the maltreatment group and 394 in the comparison group. For this total sample, the mean number of children per family under 18 living at home was 3.6. One family had 15 children, the maximum number for all families. Sixteen percent had six or more children. About half the families (48%) had three, four, or five children while the remaining families (36%) had one or two children (Item 5).

Table 6.1 shows that the families of the maltreated children were far larger. Over half of the families (52%) in the maltreating group had four or more children as compared with only 29% of the comparison families.

Table 6.1 Number Of Children
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARIS GROUP	ROW TOTAL
1		37	40	77
		9.7	27.8	14.7
2		67	45	112
		17.6	31.3	21.4
3		79	18	97
		20.8	12.5	18.5
4		69	20	89
		18.2	13.9	17.0
5		56	9	65
		14.7	6.3	12.4
6 OR MORE		72	12	84
		18.9	8.3	16.0
	COLUMN TOTAL	380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 50.59018 WITH 5 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.42847 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

Ages of Children.

Slightly more than a third of the children (35%) were four or younger, nearly a half (47%) were between five and eleven, and the rest (18%) were twelve or older (Item 9).

In order to summarize the age compostion of the families, the mean age of the children in each family was calculated. For the sample as a whole families were spread fairly evenly over the entire range from the youngest mean age of less than one year to the oldest of nearly 16 years. The overall mean of these average family age figures was 7 years. A comparison of the two groups showed no statistically significant difference between them.

In slightly less than a fourth of the families (23%) there were no children at home under six, and in a little more than a fourth (28%) all children were under six.

Spacing of children.

The mean age difference for all the children in each family ranged from less than one year to 13 years. The overall mean age difference for all families was two and a half years.

Children of families in the maltreating group were closer in age than children of comparative families (Table 6.2).

Table 6.2 Mean Age Difference
Of Children By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

MEAN AGE DIFFERENCE	ROW PCT / COL PCT / TOT PCT	MALTREATING 1.1	COMPARISON 2.1	ROW TOTAL
= OR LESS THAN 22mos.		124	22	146
		84.9	15.1	32.7
		36.2	21.2	
		27.7	4.9	
23mos. - 31mos.		121	33	154
		78.6	21.4	34.5
		35.3	31.7	
		27.1	7.4	
32mos. OR MORE		98	49	147
		66.7	33.3	32.9
		28.6	47.1	
		21.9	11.0	
	COLUMN TOTAL	343	104	447
		76.7	23.3	100.0

CHI SQUARE = 14.13182 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM
GAMMA = 0.33814 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0009

Slightly more than half (52%) of children in the total sample were boys and slightly under half (48%) were girls (Item 8).

Fifteen percent of all families had at least one child who has grown up and left home (Item 17).

Sixteen percent of the families have at least one child under 18 not living at home with them (Item 16). As expected, the families with maltreated children had a higher proportion of minor children out of the home (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Children Under 18 Living Out Of Home By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HAS CHILDREN UNDER 18 LIVING OUT OF HOME	COUNT / COL PCT / SAMPLE 2	MALTREAT / COMPARIS / ON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
YES	63 / 16.6	15 / 10.5	78 / 14.9
NO	316 / 83.4	128 / 89.5	444 / 85.1
COLUMN TOTAL	379 / 72.6	143 / 27.4	522 / 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 2.00522 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.25961 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.1062

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

In approximately seven out of ten families (71%) the respondent was the only adult in the household (Item 1). In two out of ten families one other adult lived in the household. Both groups had almost identical proportions of other adults living in the household.

Identification of primary caretaker.

When the respondent was asked whether or not she was the main person taking care of each child in her family (Item 11), in only 9% of the families was the respondent not the caretaker for all the children. There were no significant differences between the groups.

7. Parental Problems and Difficulties.

The interview contained a number of questions designed to learn about the problems and difficulties of respondents with alcohol and heroin use, mental and physical illnesses, and physical abuse as an adult. In addition the interviewer was asked whether in his or her opinion the respondent seemed to act inappropriately, or appeared very overweight or underweight.

Approximately a third of all respondents (32%) stated that they never drink any alcoholic beverages (Item 32). The proportion answering that they never drink was essentially the same for both groups.

As Table 7.1 shows, an Index based on the frequency and amount of alcohol consumed (Items 33 and 34) showed similar patterns of drinking for both groups. Appendix D describes the procedures followed in constructing the Alcohol Consumption Index.

Table 7.1 Alcohol Consumption
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

DEGREE OF CONSUMPTION	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARISON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
LOW	120 / 31.0	54 / 37.5	174 / 33.2
	138 / 36.3	46 / 31.9	184 / 35.1
HIGH	122 / 32.1	44 / 30.6	166 / 31.7
COLUMN TOTAL	380 / 72.5	144 / 27.5	524 / 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 1.74598 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.07011 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4169

A small minority, slightly more than one out of ten respondents (11%), reported that someone in or close to their household drinks too much (Item 135). These patterns were also very similar for the two groups.

A minority of respondents (12%) reported that someone living in their family had used heroin at some time (Item 137). Table 7.2 shows that the proportion of maltreating families reporting this is significantly greater than families in the comparison group (15% vs. 6%).

Table 7.2 **Someone** In Household Used Heroin
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

USED HEROIN	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE (2)	COMPARISON GROUP (4)	ROW TOTAL
Yes		55	9	64
		14.3	6.4	12.4
No		322	132	454
		85.4	93.6	87.6
COLUMN TOTAL		377	141	518
		72.8	27.2	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.84594 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.42942
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0175
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6

Responses to a series of questions on respondents' illnesses (Item 38), revealed four leading illnesses for the sample as a whole; anemia, mentioned by 16% of the respondents, hypertension by 14%, asthma by 10%, and heart condition by 6%. No other illness on the Interview list was reported by more than two percent.

The total number of illness for each respondent was calculated. It ranged from none to four illnesses. The mean was less than one illness per respondent.

The maltreating and comparison group respondents reported having approximately the same types and number of illnesses.

In response to the question of whether the respondent had ever lived with anyone who beat them since they grew up, slightly more than one-fourth (27%) indicated they had (Item 115). In the maltreating group three out of ten respondents lived with someone who beat them, compared with nearly two out of ten (19%) of the comparison group. As observed in Table 7.3, the difference between the two groups was statistically significant.

Table 7.3 Lived With Someone Who Beat Respondent By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

WAS BEAT	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARISON GROUP	ROW TOTAL
YES	112 29.6	27 18.9	139 26.7
NO	266 70.4	116 81.1	382 73.5
COLUMN TOTAL	378 72.6	145 27.4	521 100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 5.59035 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = .28799

SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0181

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Emotional well-being. Emotional well being was measured by asking respondents to indicate on a four-point continuum ("Often," "Sometimes," "Rarely," "Never") whether a set of fourteen words and phrases described their feeling states in the few weeks prior to the interview (Item139). The items and percentages of respondents saying "Often" and "Sometimes" are presented below for each of groups and the total sample.

	Maltreating	Comparison	Total
Pleased about having accomplished something	75	73	75
All alone in the world	54	55	54
Bored	66	62	65
On top of the world	66	62	65
Particularly excited or interested in something	69	74	71
* Upset because someone criticized you	45	30	41
That people seemed to respect your opinion	75	79	76
* Depressed or very unhappy	66	54	63
Prou d because someone had complimented you on something you had done	76	74	76
* As if people were quite critical of you	48	33	44
That people are just naturally helpful and friendly to you	70	78	72
So restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair	48	47	47
* Lonely or remote from other people	53	44	51
Pleased that things were going your way	71	71	71

* A chi square test shows the differences between the maltreating and comparison groups to be statistically significant at $p<.05$; N=380 for maltreating group, 144 for comparison group, 524 for total sample.

As noted above, maltreating respondents were significantly more likely than comparison families to feel upset because someone criticized them, as if people were generally critical of them, depressed or very unhappy, and lonely or remote from other people. An Index of Emotional Well-Being was constructed using all the above items. (The procedures followed for constructing the Index are described in Appendix D .) The maltreating group scored significantly more negatively than the comparison group on the overall index (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4 Emotional Well-Being
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

FEELINGS OF WELL-BEING	COUNT / COL PCT / MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
MOST NEG	138	39	177
	36.6	27.1	34.0
	121	43	164
	32.1	29.9	31.5
MOST POS	118	62	180
	31.3	43.1	34.5
COLUMN TOTAL	377	144	521
	72.4	27.6	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.11393 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.20876 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0285

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Interviewer Ratings of Respondent's Behavior.

Interviewers rated the respondent's behavior during the interview and her appearance. Specific concerns centered on whether the respondent acted appropriately, and whether she was either very overweight or underweight (Item 4 of Interviewer Rating Section). Less than 3% of the total sample were rated as behaving inappropriately. Three percent were rated as being very underweight and 12% as being very overweight.

No significant differences between the maltreating and comparison groups were found.

8. Parent's Current Self-Perceptions and Expectations.

Findings are presented pertaining to anomie, future work plans, and educational expectations for their children.

Anomie

The respondents were asked a series of questions to discern the general level of anomie (Item 138). The items, developed by Srole, are an adaption of his original Anomie Scale, intended for use with low income English and Spanish speaking populations, In general, the level of anomie is high: 72% agreed that "In spite of what people say, the life of man is getting worse," 60% agreed that "It is useless to plan for tomorrow. All we can do is live for the present," 65% agreed that "It is sad for children to have to grow up in this world the way things look for the future," 79% agreed that "These days a person doesn't know who he can count on," and 65% agreed that "It is useless to write to public officials because your problems do not interest them."

The maltreating and comparison groups scored equally high with no significant differences on the items except for the item "It is useless to plan for tomorrow. All we can do is live for the present," a higher proportion of the maltreating than the comparison group agreeing to this statement (64% vs 54%; chi square = 4.95; 1df; $p < .05$).

The above mentioned items formed a scale which did not differentiate between the maltreating and the comparison group (Table 8.1). Scoring procedures for the Anomie scale are given in Appendix D.

Table 8.1 Level Of Anomie
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
ANOMIE				
HIGH		134	45	179
		37.1	32.1	35.7
		141	55	196
		39.1	39.3	39.1
LOW		86	40	126
		23.8	28.6	25.1
	COLUMN TOTAL	361	140	501
		72.1	27.9	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 1.60503 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.10281 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.4482
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 23

Future plans for work.

A majority of the total sample (72%) expected to be working in five years (Item 123). As shown in Table 8.2 the differences between the two groups are highly significant. Proportionately fewer maltreating respondents plan to work than comparison respondents (69% in contrast to 82%).

Table 8.2 Future Work Plans
By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

HAS FUTURE WORK PLANS	COUNT / COL PCT / ROW	MALTREAT SAMPLE	COMPARIS ON GROUP	ROW TOTAL
YES		261	118	379
		68.7	81.9	72.3
DK,NA		54	11	65
		14.2	7.6	12.4
NO		65	15	80
		17.1	10.4	15.3
COLUMN TOTAL		380	144	524
		72.5	27.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 9.23434 WITH 2 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.32030 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0099

While the two groups differ in plans for working, among those from both groups who do plan to work, job aspirations are quite similar. Using the NORC Occupational Prestige

Scale the job to which each respondent aspired was ranked. Forty-five percent of the respondents indicated that they expected to be working in five years in such occupations as secretary, nurse, or laboratory technician. The remaining 55% had expectations that fell at lower levels on the NORC Scale.

Plans for children's college.

In response to the question of how far they expected their children to go in school (Item 15), 55% of the respondents indicated that they expected at least one of their children to go to college. No significant differences were found between the maltreating and comparison groups.

9. Child Characteristics

Most of the data about child characteristics have been reported in other sections of the findings. This section presents the findings on physical health, developmental disabilities, and school attendance and performance.

In response to questions about childrens' illnesses (Item 38), the illness which the largest percentage of children had was asthma (8%), followed by anemia (5%), heart condition (3%), hypertension (2%) and sickle cell anemia (1%).

Relatively few of the children were reported to have a developmental disability. One percent of the children were reported to be mentally retarded; less than one percent to be blind, deaf, or crippled (Item 39).

Children in the maltreating and comparison groups had similar rates of illness and developmental disabilities.

The respondents were asked a number of questions about their children's schooling. Seven percent of the children were 2 or more years behind the grade appropriate for their age (Items 13, 14). The percentages of children behind grade level were essentially the same for both groups. Respondents were read a list of child characteristics and asked to indicate which if any of their children were appropriately described by the word or phrase. The list included "does well in school" and "does poorly in school." (See Item 26).

A little less than half of the children (47%) were reported as doing well in school. Sixty percent of the comparison group children and 44% of the maltreated children were reported as doing well in school. As shown in Table 9.1, the differences were statistically significant.

Slightly fewer than one in five (19%) of the maltreated children were reported as doing poorly in school while 13% of the comparison children were reported as doing poorly in school. The differences were statistically significant (Table 9.1).

Table 9.1

Children's School Performance
by Maltreating and Comparison Samples

	Maltreating		Comparison		Total
	%	N	%	N	%
Does well in school *	44	(1291)	60	(302)	47
Does poorly in school *	19	(1294)	13	(307)	18

* Chi Square = 6.6; 1 df; $p < .02$

* Chi Square = 24.0; 1 df; $p < .001$

Respondents were questioned about whether any of their school age children missed a whole month or more of school at one time during the past school year (Item 40). Nearly a fourth of the respondents indicated that one or more children did miss this much school. Table 9.2 shows that the two groups are substantially different in the proportion of families who had one or more children who missed a month or more of school (10% of the comparison group vs. 29% for the maltreating group). The magnitude of the difference between the two groups may be artifactual since the criteria used in selecting the maltreating groups includes the lack of parental attention to schooling.

Table 9.2 Children Having Missed A Month Of School By Maltreating And Comparison Groups

MISSED SCHOOL	COUNT / COL PCT	MALTREAT SAMPLE 2	COMPARISON GROUP 4	ROW TOTAL
YES		97	12	109
		29.0	10.3	24.1
NO		238	105	343
		71.0	89.7	75.9
	COLUMN TOTAL	335	117	452
		74.1	25.9	100.0

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 15.56219 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.56200 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 72

10. A Four Way Comparison.

The maltreating group was separated into three subgroups: 1) Neglect Only (N=246), 2) Abuse and Neglect (N=106), and 3) Abuse Only (N=28). We then carried out a four-way analysis of the three maltreating and comparison groups. Most striking was the finding that the 28 Abuse Only respondents differed substantially from the other maltreating respondents in many areas. By and large they tended to be in better circumstances than the other maltreating groups and exhibited characteristics and behavioral and attitudinal patterns which were more like those of the Comparison Group. In contrast to the other maltreating respondents, Abuse Only parents had fewer children (Table 10.1), lived at a higher material level (nearly as high as Comparison respondents) (Table 10.2), perceived their neighborhood far more positively (even more positively than Comparison families) (Table 10.3), and scored higher on the Emotional Well Being Index (higher than Comparison families) (Table 10.4). The Abuse Only group was more like the other maltreating groups and showed greater difficulties than the comparison group in the circumstances under which they had lived during their childhood years (Tables 10.5, and 10.6). They also tended to be similar to the other maltreating groups in degree of Social Isolation (Table 10.7).

In the area of child rearing, even though we expected the Abuse Only respondents to favor harsher modes of discipline and to have higher expectations of their children this was not generally borne out by the data. The child rearing knowledge

attitudes and practices of the Abuse Only group were essentially similar to those of the total sample of respondents. Further analysis of the interview data as well as an intensive analysis of the case records is being carried out to discover the reasons for the uniqueness of this group and the results will be presented in subsequent reports.

The other two maltreating groups, Neglect Only and Neglect and Abuse, while quite similar to one another, did differ from the Comparison group in many of the same areas which had been found to differentiate the Maltreating group as a whole from the Comparison group.

Of interest are the findings pertaining to interviewer's ratings of the adequacy of child care. Interviewers were asked to rate this on a four point continuum of Very Adequate, Adequate, Inadequate, and Very Inadequate (Item 1 of the Interviewer Rating Section). The assessment was based upon impressions of the respondent, informal comments made by the respondent during the interview, and responses to the interview questions themselves. A significantly greater proportion of comparison respondents were rated as giving Very Adequate care (43%) compared with each of the other Maltreating groups - Neglect Only (22%), Abuse and Neglect (21%), and Abuse Only (27%). A chi square test reveals these differences to be significant at $p < .001$. It is of interest that interviewers who were totally unaware of which group a respondent

fell into were far more likely to rate the comparison group families as providing very adequate care than they were any of the maltreating groups.

Several interviewers were interviewed in an attempt to understand the criteria which they were using in making judgments about the adequacy of child care and to learn more about the interview situation as well. Although the results of these interviews were not very illuminating about the criteria of judging adequacy of child care they do provide interesting information about the interview situation and are reported in Appendix F .

Table 10.1 Number Of Children By Four Groups

NUMBER OF CHILDREN	COMPARISON	NEGLECT	ABUSE & NEGLECT	ABUSE ONLY	ROW TOTAL
1 OR 2	85	96	29	13	169
	59.0	25.2	27.4	46.4	30.1
3 OR 4	36	94	40	6	180
	25.0	39.2	37.7	21.4	32.0
5 OR MORE	23	50	31	9	113
	16.0	20.8	29.2	32.1	20.1
COLUMN TOTAL	144	240	100	28	562
	25.6	42.7	17.8	5.0	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 53.00107 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = 0.24004
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0000

Table 10.2 Material Level Of Living By Four Groups

MATERIAL LEVEL OF LIVING	COUNT / COL PCT / TOTAL	COMPARISON 1	NEGLECT 2	ABUSE & NEGLECT 3	ABUSE ONLY 4	ROW TOTAL
LOW		20	85	33	3	142
		14.2	35.8	32.4	10.7	27.8
MEDIUM		48	76	34	10	168
		34.0	31.7	33.3	35.7	32.9
HIGH		73	78	35	15	201
		51.8	32.5	34.3	53.6	39.3
COLUMN TOTAL		141	240	102	28	511
		27.6	47.0	20.0	5.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 29.41502 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.15218
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0001
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 13

Table 10.3 Perceptions Of Neighborhood By Four Groups

NEIGHBORHOOD	COUNT / COL PCT / TOTAL	COMPARISON 1	NEGLECT 2	ABUSE & NEGLECT 3	ABUSE ONLY 4	ROW TOTAL
POOREST		28	79	33	6	146
		20.1	32.6	32.4	21.4	28.6
		46	87	33	7	173
		33.1	36.0	32.4	25.0	33.9
BEST		65	76	36	15	192
		46.8	31.4	35.3	53.6	37.6
COLUMN TOTAL		139	242	102	28	511
		27.2	47.4	20.0	5.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.54799 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.09014
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0241
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 13

Table 10.4 Emotional Well-Being By Four Groups

FEELINGS OF WELL-BEING	COMPARISON (1)	NEGLECT (2)	ABUSE & NEGLECT (3)	ABUSE ONLY (4)	ROW TOTAL
MOST NEG	39	95	36	7	177
	27.1	38.9	34.3	25.0	34.0
	43	80	35	6	164
	29.9	32.8	33.3	21.4	31.5
MOST POS	62	69	34	15	189
	43.1	28.3	32.4	53.6	34.5
COLUMN TOTAL	144	244	105	28	521
	27.6	46.8	20.2	5.4	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.58029 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.06275
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0238

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 3

Table 10.5 Growing-Up Index Score By Four Groups

QUALITY OF GROWING-UP	COMPARISON (1)	NEGLECT (2)	ABUSE & NEGLECT (3)	ABUSE ONLY (4)	ROW TOTAL
WORST	29	87	29	8	153
	20.3	36.1	27.9	28.6	29.7
	36	58	33	9	136
	25.2	24.1	31.7	32.1	26.4
BEST	78	96	42	11	227
	54.5	39.8	40.4	39.3	44.0
COLUMN TOTAL	143	241	104	28	516
	27.7	46.7	20.2	5.4	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 14.80249 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.13523
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0218

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 8

Table 10.6 Childhood Index Score By Four Groups

QUALITY OF CHILDHOOD	COMPARISON (1)	NEGLECT (2)	ABUSE & NEGLECT (3)	ABUSE ONLY (4)	ROW TOTAL
POOREST	24	74	34	10	142
	17.6	32.5	34.0	38.5	29.0
	52	84	40	8	184
	38.2	36.8	40.0	30.8	37.6
	60	70	26	8	164
BEST	44.1	30.7	26.0	30.8	33.5
COLUMN TOTAL	136	228	100	26	490
	27.8	46.5	20.4	5.3	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 16.03259 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.21283 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0136
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 34

Table 10.7
Social Isolation By Four Groups

ISOLATION	COMPARISON (1)	NEGLECT (2)	ABUSE & NEGLECT (3)	ABUSE ONLY (4)	ROW TOTAL
MOST ISOLATED	34	75	40	9	158
	24.1	31.3	38.5	32.1	30.8
	47	99	35	12	193
	33.3	41.3	33.7	42.9	37.6
LEAST ISOLATED	60	66	29	7	162
	42.6	27.5	27.9	25.0	31.6
COLUMN TOTAL	141	240	104	28	513
	27.5	46.8	20.3	5.5	100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 13.70444 WITH 6 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.
GAMMA = -0.17399 SIGNIFICANCE = 0.0331
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 11

11. Multivariate Analyses

Using a stepwise Discriminant Analysis for the total sample, we looked at the combined effect of a number of factors we found to be associated with being in the maltreating or comparison groups (1) number of children in the household; (2) Material Level of Living Index score; (3) respondents' Childhood Index score; (4) Perception of Neighborhood Index score; (5) Social Isolation Index score; (6) number of years of schooling of respondent; and (7) Emotional Well-Being Index score. As shown in Table 11.1 four variables met the criteria for inclusion in the equation differentiating the groups. Number of children emerged as the most important variable, followed, in order, by quality or respondents' childhood, Material Level of Living, and Social Isolation.

Perception of neighborhood, number of years of schooling of respondent and emotional well-being did not have sufficient discriminatory power to remain in the equation. The canonical correlation for the four variables remaining in the equation was .319, which suggests a moderate ability of these combined variables to discriminate between the maltreating and comparison groups for the sample as a whole.

Ethnicity. We found that controlling for ethnic groups in the cross tabulations frequently resulted in changing the strength of the association between a number of factors and child maltreatment. Giovannoni and Billingsley (1970) also found some differential

patterns of association by ethnic group. For these reasons we carried out separate discriminant analyses for Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics which are also shown in Table 11.1. Both number of children and material level of living continue to be important discriminating variables for all three ethnic groups. Except for the Hispanic group the quality of the respondents' childhood is also an important discriminating factor Social isolation, the least important of the discriminating variables for the total sample was most important for the Whites and was not included in the equation for the Blacks and Hispanics.

Respondents' education did not seem to be an important discriminatory variable except for Blacks. Perception of Neighborhood was not important except for Hispanics. Well-being was not an important discriminatory variable for any of the three ethnic subsamples.

As shown in Table 11.1, while the canonical correlation for Blacks was approximately the same as for the total sample it was appreciably higher for Whites and Hispanics, indicating that the variables were better able to discriminate between the maltreating and comparison groups for these two ethnic subsamples.

Controlling for race, preliminary cross tabulations of maltreating/comparison groups and anomie, emotional well-being, perception of neighborhood, social isolation, and material level of living generally show a weaker relationship for Blacks than for Whites and Hispanics. It may be

that the Black families in the study may be more homogeneous than the other ethnic groups on these factors. A fuller analysis of the ethnic group data is underway and will be presented in subsequent reports.

Family size. Since both number of children in the household and material level of living were found to be important discriminating variables for the total sample and each of the ethnic groups, we wanted to determine whether the number of children in the family was so highly related to material level of living that the association between material level of living and child maltreatment might in fact be a consequence of the size of family. As Table 11.2 shows the relationship between material level of living and child maltreatment holds for one or two child families and for larger families with five or more children, but is weakened considerable for families with three or four children.

Table 11.1

Maltreating/Comparison Group Discriminant Analyses* for the Total Sample and by Ethnic Group

Total Sample	White	Black	Hispanics
Included	**Included**	**Included**	**Included**
1. Number of children (.623)	1. Social Isolation (-.531)	1. Number of children (.640)	1. Number of children (-.54
2. Quality of Respondents' Childhood (-.422)	2. Material Level of Living (-.420)	2. Quality of Respondents' Childhood (-.387)	2. Neighborhood (.430)
3. Material Level of Living (-.352)	3. Number of children (.365)	3. Material Level of Living (-.270)	3. Material Level of Living (.379)
4. Social Isolation (-.148)	4. Quality of Respondents' Childhood (-.321)	4. Respondents' Schooling (-.214)	
Not Included	**Not Included**	**Not Included**	**Not Included**
Respondents' Schooling	Respondents' Schooling	Social Isolation	Social Isolation
Neighborhood	Neighborhood	Neighborhood	Respondents' Schooling
Emotional Well-Being	Emotional Well-Being	Emotional Well-Being	Emotional Well-Being
Canonical Correlation= .319	Canonical Correlation= .414	Canonical = .317	Canonical = .516
Maltreating Group (N=328)	Maltreating Group (N=103)	Maltreating Group (N=199)	Maltreating Group (N=25)
Comparison Group (N= 128)	Comparison Group (N=31)	Comparison Group (N=80)	Comparison Group (N=15)

* The procedures for carrying out the discriminant analysis eliminate respondents for whom there is insufficient data on one or more variables.

** Standardized discriminant coefficient appear in parentheses to right of variable.

Table 11.2 Material Level of Living
By Maltreating and Comparison Groups,
Holding Number of Children Constant

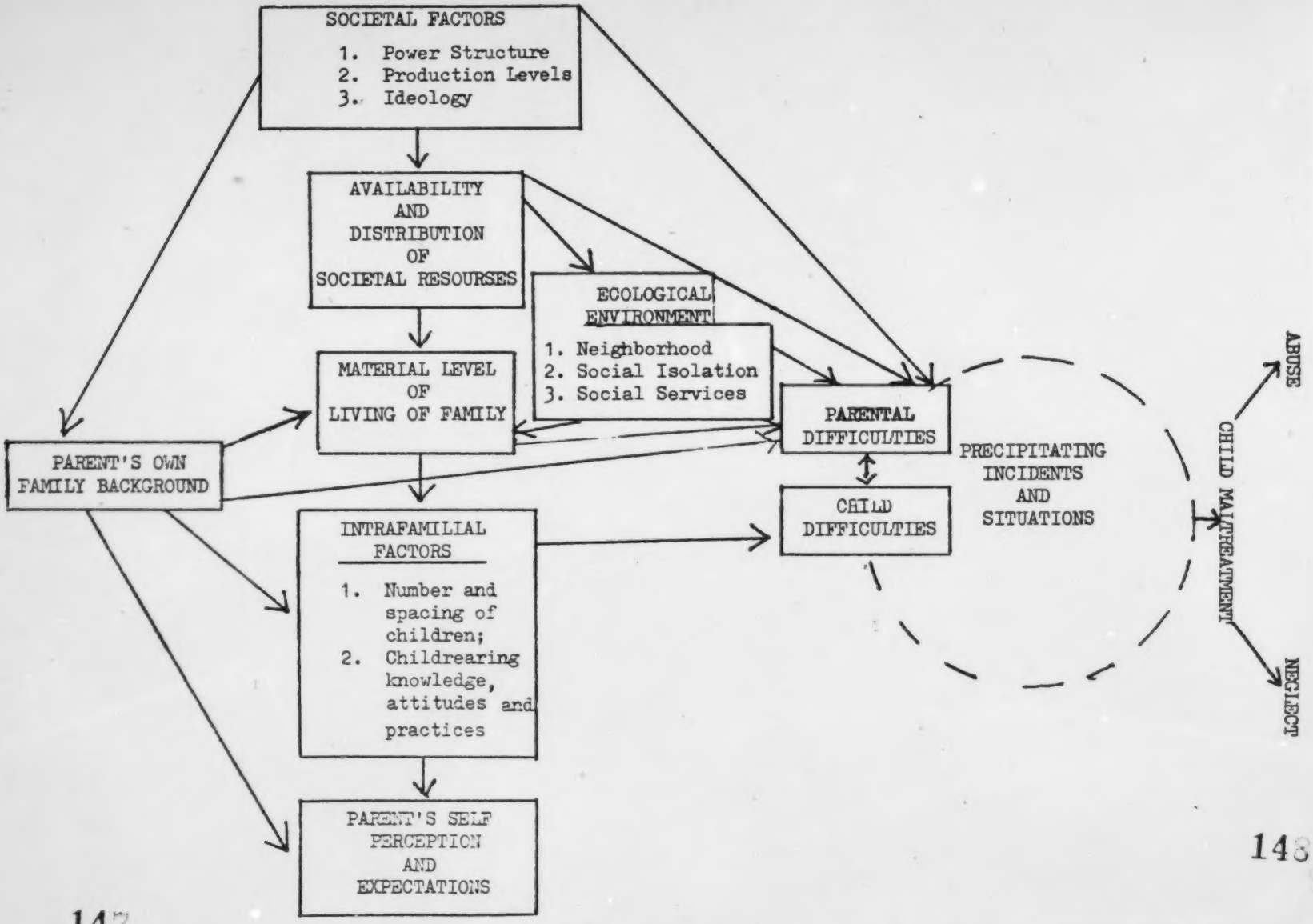
Material Level of Living	One or Two Children				Three or Four Children				Five or More Children			
	Maltreating Group		Comparison Group		Maltreating Group		Comparison Group		Maltreating Group		Comparison Group	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Low	27	(27)	10	(8)	26	(38)	17	(6)	46	(57)	29	(6)
Moderate	29	(30)	32	(27)	28	(40)	42	(15)	40	(50)	29	(6)
High	44	(45)	58	(49)	46	(66)	42	(15)	14	(17)	43	(9)
		102		84		144		36		124		21
	Chisquare = 8.99; 2df; p<.05				Chisquare = 3.04; 2df; p>.05				Chisquare = 10.40; 2 df; p<.01			
	Gamma = .320				Gamma = .034				Gamma = .443			

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

We are not presently at the point where we can specify a theory that can make "strong" predictions, subject to empirical verification, and critical in confirming or disconfirming deduced hypotheses. Instead, there are a number of alternate models which can make explicit some of the assumptions and emphases inherent in any particular research strategy. In Figure III we've sketched a first crude attempt at one such model of the variables which may be salient in child abuse and neglect. The purpose of this model is to aid in identifying the more important variables and their major asserted interrelationships.

The essential element in this model of child abuse and neglect is the direct and indirect effect of how the society allocates power and income, total societal productive capacity, beliefs, attitudes and values of the social classes, and social development efforts through transfer payments and investments in public services. These societal influences impinge on the family of origin (the parents' own families) and limit the alternatives available; present societal conditions, at times operating directly, and at times through the family's community, continue to constrain the available alternatives for coping with their situation. The parents' own background, in turn, has taught them certain methods of coping which tend to be followed in the presence of similar circumstances. To the extent that there is extreme deprivation it makes it more difficult for the parent to develop full their physical, emotional, intellectual and economic potential. At times, even dramatic changes in these

Figure III THEORETICAL MODEL OF THE SOCIETAL CONTEXT OF CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT



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circumstances do not instantly alter the manner of coping learned early in life. In contrast to some approaches, this Model would predict that far more of the undesirable behavior (in this case child abuse and neglect) is an adaptive response to societal factors operating either directly on the family members or through the immediate community in which the family resides; therefore, change would result primarily from changing societal and community characteristics which impinge at every point, from family of origin to the precipitating factors of the abusive or neglectful situation. Attempts at intervention that would produce major improvements in the family's situation are an extremely difficult enterprise in this Model without concomittant changes in the society. A lot of connecting arrows have been omitted in the figure (for example, those which would indicate the mutual influence between individuals, families, their community, and society as a whole.) While the arrows should go upward as well as downward, the present form of the Model emphasizes those elements of the system which are most relevant in illustrating the social context of abuse and neglect. It is not possible for us to test the Model in its entirety. The societal context is a given; we are dealing with the very bottom of the U.S. economic pyramid; and we cannot measure all the variables the Model encompasses and their interrelationships. However, the Model may allow us to focus more easily on the complex relationships among the factors resulting in child abuse and neglect. For example, the Model does not assume a direct relationship between material level of living and child maltreatment. Rather, it indicates the combined

effect of low material level of living and other family and personal difficulties in an already difficult world (where all families must incessantly struggle to live on inadequate public assistance funds) to be a major factor in child maltreatment. In addition to the major importance ascribed to the societal and community context, the Model pictures the abusing and neglecting behavior as the product of the individual's experience in his/her family of origin; it is also a consequence of current family functioning and is frequently precipitated by the parent's mental and physical health, and any special stress from an immediate crisis, such as heavy alcohol abuse, an ill child who cannot stop screaming, or emotional disturbance. To the extent that the variables indicated in the Model and expanded upon in the Introduction differentiate between the groups in the hypothesized directions it would provide some support for the usefulness of the Model as a preliminary attempt at understanding the origins of child maltreatment.

It is in this limited fashion that we have used the Model as a framework for an extremely brief discussion of a few selected highlights of the massive set of findings reported above. This strategy entails a slight shift in terminology and groupings of findings. A fuller discussion of the findings and their many implications for policy and research in child development will require further extensive analysis.

A central feature of the Model is the importance of low Material Level of Living as a key factor in making families less likely to be able to provide adequate child care. We found, even among families living in poverty on AFDC budgets, that a higher proportion of maltreating families lived at a lower Material Level of Living. This

association was found for Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics separately, as well as for the total sample. As indicated in the introduction, this finding lends further support to those researchers who report an association between poverty and reports of inadequate child care. The Index of Material Level of Living measures differences in housing conditions, the possession of major durable items, and patterns of consumption of food and clothing.

The relationship between Material Level of Living and child maltreatment may be explained in alternative ways. Some claim that other familial difficulties such as illness, addiction, personal problems and mismanagement of resources are the reasons for both the child maltreatment and the low material level of living. While the data, as organized within our Model, do not definitively answer this question, we believe that our findings support the Model's assertion of the centrality of material level of living in the complex set of factors that result in child maltreatment. Thus far, our analysis shows either no or small relationships between most of the variables cited above and child abuse and neglect. There were no significant differences between the two groups on reported rates of physical illness and alcohol use. While there was a difference on emotional well being, it was not a strong relationship when analyzed in a cross-tabulation and not strong enough in its discriminatory power to remain a significant factor when combined with other variables such as number of children, quality of parent's childhood, and material level of living. While we didn't deal extensively with management of income, in two areas (extent of family indebtedness, and length of time monthly welfare check lasted) the maltreating and comparison groups showed essentially similar patterns. In the

discriminant analysis, Material Level of Living was included as a discriminating variable for Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics in the separate analyses as well as for the overall analysis. When we controlled for the number of children in the household, the relationship remained statistically significant for families of all sizes except for those with three or four children. We are doing further analyses controlling for a number of factors to determine whether they diminish or eliminate the association. Thus far, we have not found any other factor that explains the relationship between material level of living and child maltreatment.

Recently, Ilfeld (1977), in a survey done in a Chicago area of 2,299 community residents, found a strong relationship between low income and psychiatric symptomatology. The basic relationship remained even when controlling for demographic characteristics, personality variables, and social setting factors. This finding, in a sample with a far greater socioeconomic range, supports the assertion that material level of living is one of the primary determinants of coping behavior.

Intra-Familial Factors

Our Model contains as major family factors (1) size and spacing of family; and (2) child rearing knowledge, attitudes, and practices. We found that the larger families were more likely to be the maltreating families. Size of family emerged as the most important single factor in the discriminant analysis. Studies have found that child maltreatment frequently occurs in large families (Young, 1964; Elmer, 1967; Gil, 1970; Kadushin, 1974). In the maltreating families children tended to be born in closer succession. This

finding is supported in Elmer's study (1967, p.77). The findings of this and other studies suggest that raising a large number of children who are born in close succession may add to the already heavy burden of poverty families, and make it still more difficult for them to provide the level of child care that they might otherwise be able to provide. This is further supported by the data which show that parents living in poverty with larger families tend not to enjoy their children as much. (Table 12.1)

Table 12.1

Enjoyment of Children Index Scores by Size of Family

	One or Two Children		Three or Four Children		Five or More Children	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Lower Enjoyment	38	72	48	89	58	83
Higher Enjoyment	62	116	52	95	42	60
Total		188		184		143

Chi square = 12.8; 2 d.f.; $p < .01$

In general, the findings on attitudes toward discipline were inconsistent. In response to certain items, the maltreatment group was more likely to favor harsher disciplinary techniques.

However, this was not always true. Sometimes the groups did not differ, and sometimes the comparison group reported agreement with harsher forms of discipline than the maltreating group. Both groups showed an adequate knowledge of child rearing, at least as measured by the questions we asked. For both groups, (1) the ages at which they expected children to achieve certain developmental skills fell within the range of norms established by Gesell; (2) they reported approximately the same number of problems in raising their children; and (3) they participated in activities with their children to about the same extent. However, the maltreating group seemed to be slightly less likely to enjoy raising their children, had a slight tendency to enjoy them less, and evaluated them more negatively. Our findings on attitudes toward discipline are inconsistent with those of other researchers who found that maltreating families tend to favor harsher methods of discipline (Young, 1964; Korsch, et.al., 1965; Elmer, 1967; Wasserman, 1967) and that maltreating parents have unrealistic developmental expectations of their children. (Galdston, 1965; Korsch, et.al., 1965; Steele and Pollock, 1968; Gil, 1970). The findings are consistent with those of Elmer (1967), who also found that maltreating parents evaluate their children more negatively.

The maltreating parents in general report growing up under more difficult circumstances than those in the comparison group. They were less likely to have been raised by both parents, more likely to have felt neglected, and more likely to have been beaten. They were also less likely to have had decent clothes to wear, and less likely to remember their childhood as a happy one. Overall measures of family background show that the maltreating parents grew up under more adverse circumstances than the comparison group parents. When we combined the major factors associated with child maltreatment into a multivariate analysis, we found parent's own family background to be second only to number of children in the household in importance. As recently systematically reviewed by Parke & Collmer (1975), a wide range of investigators have reported that maltreating parents were very frequently abused and neglected themselves as children. The most prevalent specific assertion in in this area common among both professionals and the general public is that there is a causal relationship between having been physically abused as a child and abusing your own children. Table 12.2 shows that among comparison, neglect only and abuse and neglect families, the group in which abuse occurs, are most likely to have been beaten as a child.

TABLE 12.2

HAVING BEEN BEATEN AS A CHILD BY

NEGLECT, ABUSE AND NEGLECT, AND COMPARISON GROUPS.

Having been beaten as a child	Neglect only		Abuse & Neglect		Comparison	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
Yes, Often	18	(42)	25	(33)	6	(9)
Yes, Not Often	13	(32)	17	(22)	18	(26)
Never	69	(166)	59	(78)	75	(107)
Total		240		133		142

Chi square - 19.18; 4 d.f.;p .001

GAMMA = -.245

While this is an important research finding its use as a diagnostic criterion is questionable, given the fact that a majority of respondents in all the groups state they have never been beaten as children.

Ecological Environment

Neighborhood. Maltreating families were more negative about their neighborhood. They perceived them as more crime ridden and rundown. They saw their neighbors as less helpful. Although this finding is in line with the Model, the empirical literature on child abuse and neglect fails to provide either supporting or contradictory data. As Parke and Collmer (1975) indicate, there has been no systematic evidence available on the effect of neighborhood on child rearing patterns. (pp: 526-527).

Social Isolation. The maltreating families were more socially isolated, as measured by informal contacts with friends and relatives and participation in organizations such as church and social clubs.

Merrill (1962), Young (1964), Elmer (1967), Gil (1970), and Giovannoni and Billingsley (1970) all have reported similar findings.

The literature suggests that social isolation may be related to the availability of child care from family and friends (Parke and Collmer, 1975, p. 532). Our findings on one parent AFDC recipient families do not support this suggestion. The vast bulk of both maltreating and comparison families have no child care help of this type at all on a regular basis.

Social Services. Maltreating families received more services than comparison group families. This is probably primarily due to their greater involvement with a variety of social agencies as a consequence of being under DYFS supervision. They also expressed slightly greater satisfaction, on the average, with the services they received. Amount of service was controlled for in the calculation of an average satisfaction with services score. Possibly, the maltreating families may be in more desperate circumstances and thus be more satisfied with available services than those families that have more alternatives against which to evaluate available services. However, the relationship is not a strong one and may not require extensive exploration.

In summary, the immediate physical and social space within which the daily lives of the maltreating parents are enacted is not only lacking in social supports to a greater extent than for the comparison Group; it is also more likely to contain elements which are themselves direct sources of stress.

Although Maltreating Group families are receiving more social

services and there is some indication that they are slightly more satisfied with services they get, the rate of service delivery is not great to the total sample of all poverty families. The difference in number of services received may be a consequence of DYFS intervention; the maltreating families are more likely to be entangled in the agency networks.

Parent's Self Perception and Expectation

Although we expected the maltreating families to feel more alienated and to have lower expectations for themselves and for their children, this was not what we found. In only one area, whether or not they expected to work in five years, did the maltreating group have lower expectations. In a survey of the state of knowledge of child neglect, Polansky (1975) indicated that apathy and futility are characteristic of parents in such families. One might expect that greater alienation and lower expectations would be characteristic of apathetic futile feeling parents. However, by and large, our results failed to confirm this finding, except as noted above.

Parental Difficulties

Most of the arrows in the Model converge on the Parental difficulties component. This component, as we originally conceptualized it, contains a wide range of difficulties both personal and social, and becomes the transmitter of the other impinging factors through complex interactions with them. Unfortunately, we were only able to investigate a small set of personal parental difficulties. Maltreating parents differed from comparison families on certain personal difficulties but not on others. Someone in their family was more likely to have used heroin, they were more likely to have been physically abused as an adult, and they were more likely to show current emotional stress. However, there was no indication that their patterns of drinking were different, nor the rates and types of physical illness. Except for Young (1964), few specific references are found in the empirical literature (although many in the non-empirically based literature) relating child maltreatment to personal parental difficulties such as alcohol and drug abuse. The literature relating emotional disturbance to child maltreatment, as reviewed by Parke and Collmer (1975) and by Polansky (1975) fail to establish consistent and sturdy associations.

Child Difficulties: In general, compared with Comparison Group children, the maltreated children were no more likely to be behind in school though were more apt to be reported by their caretakers as doing poorly in school. They were no more likely to be physically ill or developmentally handicapped.

For both groups the rate of child developmental handicaps and disabilities reported by parents was extremely low. Surprisingly, there was a slight but significant tendency for Comparison Group parents to report certain child rearing problems more frequently than Maltreating Group parents, such as crying a lot, getting a child to sleep and eating. For three other child rearing areas (biting and fighting, not doing what told, and toilet training) the groups reported essentially similar rates. Thus far, our analysis of the interview data on child difficulties has not supported the assertions in the literature (Parke and Collmer, p. 975, p. 545) that specific child characteristics are an important factor in child maltreatment.

Combining Factors in the Model: The factors included as components of the Model, considered individually, in general seem to be related to child maltreatment. We carried out a discriminant function analysis combining many of the major factors included in the Model to determine the relative strength of their explanatory power. For the total sample, combining these factors resulted in a modest ability to discriminate between Maltreating and Comparison Group families. For White and Hispanic families, the explanatory power of the combined variables was increased somewhat. Number of children in family, material level of living, and parent's own

background proved to be the most critical explanatory variables. The limited strength of the overall relationships may be mainly due to:

1. the extremely narrow socio-economic range in the population studied;
2. the crudity of the measures; and
3. the lack of measures for important components of the Model.

Therefore, while the factors we have found associated with child maltreatment may not be useful as diagnostic tools for identifying "high risk" families, they may be sufficiently clearly associated with child maltreatment to suggest certain public policy strategies and directions for further research.

Living Conditions for the Total Sample

Thus far, we have focused on the differences between the Maltreating and the Comparison groups. However, our findings for the total sample of AFDC recipients have important implications, and also provide a perspective on the meaning of some of the differences between the groups.

Currently, a woman with one child receives a flat grant AFDC payment of $235 in the State of New Jersey, with payments increasing by approximately $50 per month for each additional child. Since the average rent for the interviewed families that average between 3 and 4 children is $165 per month, they are obviously consigned to living in extreme poverty.

Taking the sample as a whole, consider the circumstances in which this group of AFDC recipients must exist.

Nearly two thirds live in housing with an average of more than one person per room. In the case of a fifth of these families, a child must share a bedroom, or other sleeping arrangement, with three or more other persons.

Although 9 out of 10 respondents had worked at some time, almost all of the respondents' jobs fell at the lower end of the NORC Occupational Prestige Scale (see p. 36). Of those who reported a salary, 89% made less than $140 per week on their last job.

Over one fourth of these families' homes are in a poor state of repair; a fifth indicate that they have seen rats in their home. Fourteen percent of the sample reported that they had been without heat for most of the

winter, about half of the families were without telephones.

In a State with a poor public transportation system, 85% had no car, and only a third had a driver's license.

Hunger is a very real problem. More than one out of ten of these AFDC recipient families had recently gone hungry for a day or more. Welfare checks ran out within the first two weeks of the month for nearly two thirds of these families. Debt is a problem for close to half, (in 40% of these cases, the amount of money owed exceeded $500); similarly, nearly one in five have been evicted from their homes at one time or another.

A substantial proportion of the sample were living in dilapidated neighborhoods which they judged to be crime ridden, dangerous during the night and in the daytime, where a lot of drugs are used.

Not surprisingly, the sample as a whole appeared to be socially isolated, respondents seldom visiting or even chatting with friends over the telephone, with over two thirds not involved in any kind of voluntary organization (see p. 60). This isolation may be related to the way some of these families move frequently from apartment to apartment. Two thirds had moved at least one time since 1974, 38% had moved two or more times.

Although 68% of families reported that they had received health care at a hospital or clinic, only 54% made regular visits. However, a fourth of the respondents said that they did not have a doctor that they could trust.

In sum, a substantial proportion of AFDC recipients involved in this study suffer from dilapidated and overcrowded housing and a shortage of basic financial resources and material necessities. Many are frequently on the move, yet cannot manage to escape neighborhoods which they feel are crime ridden and dangerous, ghettoes for the unemployed, the underemployed and those receiving welfare. It must also be kept in mind that the size of these AFDC families is far greater than the national norm; the mean number of children per family (under 18 and living at home) is 3.6, and 64% of all families contained 3 or more children.

The effect of large family size is most apparent in the area of housing. In a housing market, which is extremely tight for low income families in general, large families have an even harder time finding suitably sized, low priced, rental housing. Having to settle for whatever is available, large AFDC families inevitably live in overcrowded circumstances.

Furthermore, only 29% of all respondents reported that they received help taking care of their children. Clearly, a greater burden falls upon single parents with large numbers of young children. The services provided by state agencies do not seem to be filling the gap.

Limitations of the Findings

1. These findings are limited in their generalizability to AFDC recipient families with a least one child in the

home 11 years old or younger; thus, we did not concentrate on child maltreatment to older children.

2. The types of abuse and neglect we are investigating are limited to those reported to public child welfare agencies which did not result in removal of the children. This type of selection may possibly result in the most severe situations of abuse and neglect being absent from the sample.

3. There is a possible bias resulting from difficulties in locating all families in the sample. The overall interview completion rate was 71%. It will require further analysis to determine whether or not this has produced a bias in our sample and limited the population to which our findings may be generalized.

Policy and Program Implications

Despite the preliminary nature of the findings and the methodological limitations of the study, policy and program implications emerge which are consistent with our findings and review of the literature.

The most direct and effective intervention suggested by our findings to reduce the likelihood of child maltreatment among this important segment of the identified child abuse and neglect families would be to provide:

a. guaranteed employment

b. guaranteed minimal income at a substantially higher level than current levels

c. universal preventive health care

d. expanded food stamp programs

e. an expanded stock of adequate housing at reasonable rents

f. community development programs that would provide resources to the community to make them safer, more supportive, and less crime-ridden.

We cannot change the social, economic and familial cycle of intergenerational deprivation shown so clearly in our data to have been experienced by the parents of these maltreated children. What we can do is to develop public policies and programs that stop the cycle with the current generation of children.

The importance of size of family, material level of living, quality of neighborhood, and social isolation in making families more susceptible to the possibility of maltreating their children are important indicators that direct and major intervention in the areas listed above would be the most important ways to reduce child abuse and neglect. However, whatever occurs at the broader policy level in our society, there are immediate relatively small scale programmatic initiatives that can be taken. Therefore, we make the following recommendations:

1. Substantially increase the level of funding for child abuse and neglect prevention and treatment programs for poor families;

2. Direct these funds toward the following concrete service areas:

   a. comprehensive emergency services, including special emergency cash funds, special emergency food outlets, and good quality emergency temporary housing

   b. day care programs

   c. special homemaker services and case aides

d. job development and training programs

e. housing resource development services

f. transportation services

g. providing ready and free access to birth control information and methods, including abortion. (This issue is especially relevant at the present time when the availability of Medicaid funds to cover the costs of abortions for women living in poverty is in danger of ending.)

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